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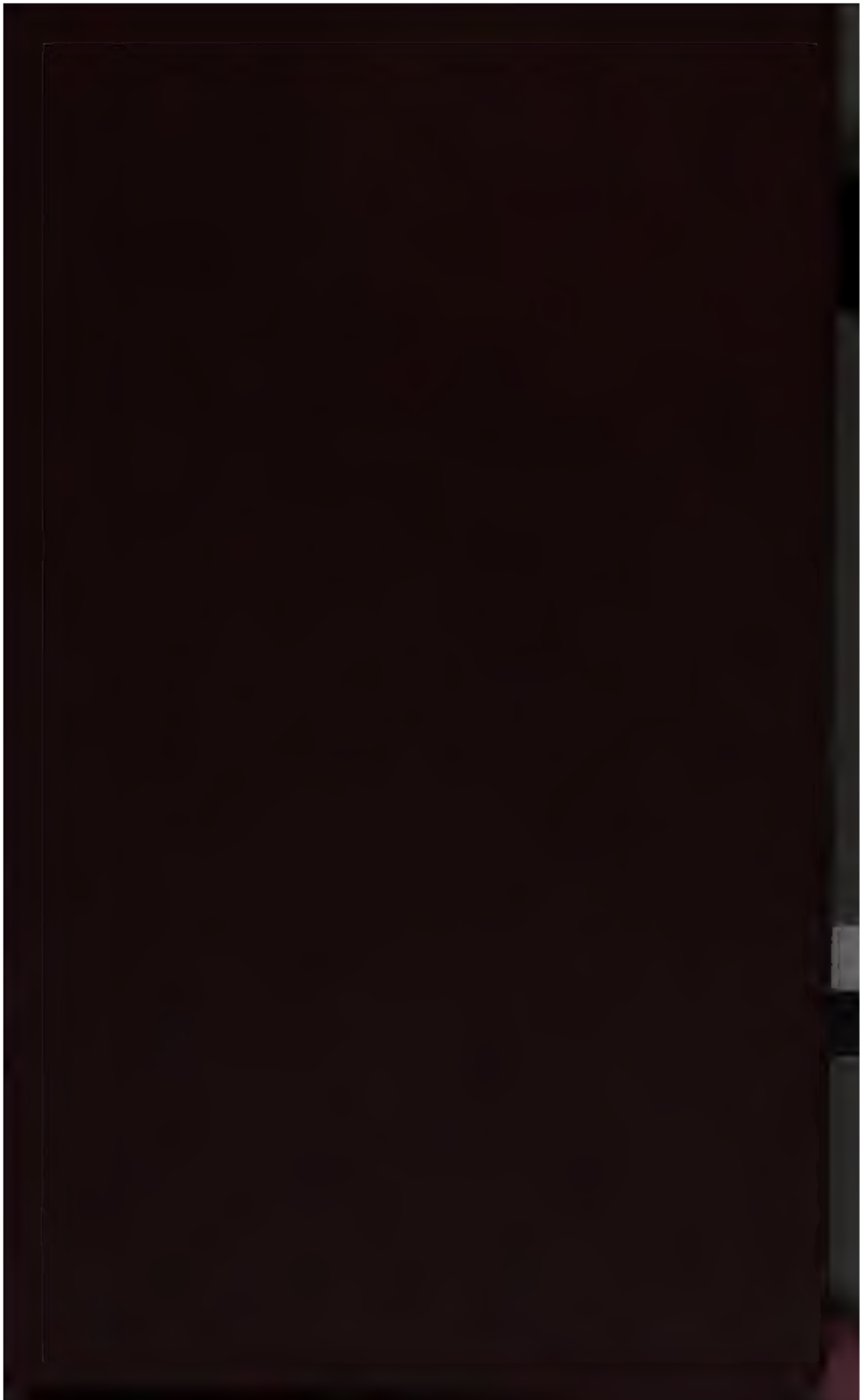
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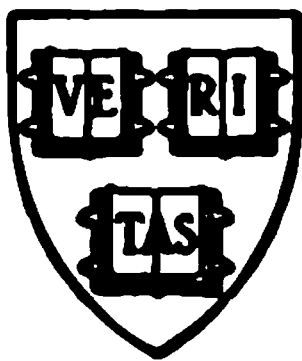
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3

# THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND,

DURING THE  
LIFE OF QUEEN MARY,

AND UNTIL THE  
ACCESSION OF HER SON JAMES TO THE CROWN  
OF ENGLAND.

---

BY THE  
REV. JAMES CARRUTHERS,  
OF ST. MARY'S CHAPEL, NEW ABBEY.

---

I loin de la cour alors, en cette grotte obscure,  
De ma Religion je vins pleurer l'injure.  
Là, quelque espoir, au moins, console mes vieux jours ;  
Un culte si nouveau ne peut durer toujours.  
Des caprices de l'homme il a tiré son être :  
On le verra périr ainsi qu'on l'a vu naître.  
Les œuvres des humains sont fragiles comme eux.  
Dieu dissipe à son gré leurs desseins orgueilleux.  
Lui seul est toujours stable. En vain notre malice  
De la sainte Cité veut saper l'édifice :  
Lui-même en affermit les sacrés fondemens,  
Ces fondemens vainqueurs de l'Enfer et des tems.

*La Henriade de VOLTAIRE, Chant. premier.*

Periculosum plenum opus aleæ  
Tractas, et incedis per ignes  
Suppositos cineri doloso.—*Hor. Lib. ii. Ode 1.*

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**TO THE**  
**CANDID AND TRUTH-LOVING SONS AND DAUGHTERS**  
**OF**  
**OLD CALEDONIA,**  
**THE**  
**FOLLOWING VOLUME**  
**IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,**  
**BY**  
**THEIR AFFECTIONATE COUNTRYMAN,**  
**AND VERY HUMBLE SERVANT,**  
**THE AUTHOR.**



## ADVERTISEMENT.

---

THE Author has to beg the excuse of those who purchased the two first Volumes of his Scottish History, for having leapt over, for the present, the reigns of so many of the STUARTS, and begun again at the Birth of the illustrious and unfortunate MARY. His chief reason and apology is his advanced age. He was particularly anxious to leave to the Public, what he deemed a candid narrative of the varied fortune of that amiable Princess, and of the momentous changes and convulsions that agitated Scotland during her life, and until the union of the two Crowns in the person of her Son ; and he was afraid, that the little residue of his life might not be sufficient (amidst other necessary avocations), to do justice to this, if he waited until he had waded through the intermediate period. Should his Friends, after a perusal of the Volume which he now submits to their judgment, wish him to fill up the chasm, their kind encouragement would be a great inducement to make the attempt, although a pledge would be presumptuous in his seventy-sixth year.



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ERRATA.

Page 246, 9th line, *for* have able, *read* have been able.  
—— 443, 19th line, *for* Calcanquhal, *read* Balcanquhal.

## PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

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FROM the time of the introduction of the Christian religion into Scotland, that kingdom had scarcely been troubled with heresy ; and amidst all the evils with which it had been afflicted, it had never been visited with the curse of religious wrangling, nor the flames of discord blown up by fanatical zealots. It was no small consolation in the distresses, and a great means of allaying the miseries of its inhabitants, that they still agreed in the profession of the same faith, received the same sacraments, prostrated themselves before the same altars, and were subject to the same hierarchy.

State of Religion in Scotland previous to the Reformation.

For several ages past, the wars which had extinguished the arts and sciences in the western world, had also produced great abuses among the clergy, and, during these barbarous ages, many sects had arisen, viz. the Albigenes, the Waldenses, the Lollards, the Wickliffites, the Hussites, &c. ; but the thunders of the Church, the arms of the Crusaders, and the flames of Inquisitions, had nearly extinguished them ; and in the end of the fifteenth century, almost all Europe was tranquil, in communion with the Roman See, and acknowledged the Pope as their spiritual father.

Leo X., from April 1513 to December 1521, filled the chair of St. Peter. He had been educated by the ablest masters in every branch of literature, and had made great proficiency in the sciences. He had an exquisite taste for the *belles lettres*, and loved and protected men of ge-

Character of Leo X.



nus ; so that he was said to be *the patron of every science and the friend of every learned man*. His manners were at once dignified, and enchantingly engaging ; but his liberality soon exhausted his treasures. Yet he formed the design of finishing the magnificent church of St. Peter ; and to procure money to carry on that grand edifice, he granted indulgences\* to those who would piously contribute towards defraying the expenses.

Abuses of Indulgences.

Luther.

The bull for the indulgences was expedited, and the charge of preaching them was, in Germany, entrusted to the Dominican Friars, and great abuses were committed by the preachers and collectors. The Augustinian friars had formerly been employed in similar commissions, and being disappointed at being passed over on this occasion became jealous of the Dominicans, who had obtained the preference. Martin Luther was an Augustinian friar and doctor and professor of theology in the University of Wittenberg. John Staupitz, general of the Augustinians, stirred up Luther to preach against those miscollectors of the alms, and their malversations. Had Luther confined himself solely to the abuses, he had done Christianity no small service ; but, unhappily, he had read the writings and imbibed the tenets of Wickliff and Huss, and seized this occasion to propagate their errors. He inveighed with such violence and rancour against the Pope and See of Rome, &c., that the Catholics became exasperated against him, and threatened him with degradation. He then threw off the mask and became furious. Leo first endeavoured to soothe him by mildness, but finding him incorrigible, he, in the year 1520, condemned his doctrine, ordered his books to be burned, and declared him a heretic, unless he retracted within a limited time.

Luther appealed to a future council, and being protected by the Elector of Saxony, burned the bull of Leo at Wittenberg. Luther was condemned by the univer-

\* *Vide* Appendix to Vol. II. p. 363.      † *Vide* Vol. II. p. 341.

sity of Paris, and by other celebrated universities. All this served only to irritate him the more. He cast off his frock, and in 1525 married a nun, called Catharine Bore, by whom he had three sons.

The decision which he gave in the year 1539, together with Melanchton and others of his chief disciples, by which he permitted Philip Landgrave of Hesse to espouse a second wife, whilst his first wife was alive and well, shook his reputation. His pretended conference with the devil on the subject of private masses, in which conference he owns he was worsted by his infernal majesty, also lessened his fame, and exposed him to much ridicule. He drew into his heresy the duchy of Saxony, the kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden, together with a considerable portion of other states and sovereignties. The princes and sovereigns who protected him, and embraced his tenets, were chiefly swayed by temporal interest, and that they might have a plausible pretext for seizing ecclesiastical property. Luther died at Islebe, 18th February 1546, at the age of sixty-three. He left a great many writings, in which there is much animation, and some erudition; but throughout the whole, and especially in those published in 1525, he manifests so much pride, vanity, fury, and so much vulgar railing against the See of Rome, against the Pope, and other most respectable personages, that it is self-evident the ambition of celebrity, and of being the head of a party, and not the love of truth, impelled him to separate himself from the church.

At the same time, Bernardin Sampson, a cordelier, preached the indulgences in Switzerland. Zuinglius, Zuinglius. curate of Glaris, and afterwards of Zurich, attacked the abuses of Sampson in his discourses and instructions. The Bishop of Constance approved of the zeal of Zuinglius; but Zuinglius, though not very erudite, had read and recommended the reading of Luther's writings. He preached and declaimed at Zurich, during four years,

against indulgences, invocation of saints, religious vows, celibacy of the clergy, the observance of Lent, with other fasts and laws of the church. Meantime he celebrated mass, contrary to his conscience ; for hitherto no change had been made in the exterior worship. Zuinglius had communicated his tenets to several other ministers, who had also publicly announced his doctrines. The Bishop of Constance, who had applauded the condemnation of abuses, issued a mandate, complaining of the audacity and licentiousness of the novellists. The Cantons, assembled at Lucerne, passed a decree forbidding the preaching of the new doctrines. Zuinglius disregarded the prohibition. The people were divided between him and the Catholic priests. Zuinglius admitted the Scripture as the only rule of faith, and the magistrates as judges of controversy. The magistrates summoned to Zurich the clergy within the limits of their civil jurisdiction, and invited the Bishop of Constance to attend. The clergy compeared ; the Bishop sent John Faber, his grand vicar. Zuinglius presented his doctrine in sixty-seven articles. Faber refused to admit the magistrates as competent judges of religious controversy, the decision of which, he said, belonged to the Church.

Assisted by  
Carlostadt.

Carlostadt, banished from Saxony by Luther, retired to Switzerland, and imparted to Zuinglius his denial of the real presence. Zuinglius greedily seized an opinion so favourable to his design of abolishing the mass.

The doctrine of Zuinglius spread ; but five cantons, Lucern, Zug, Uri, Underwalden, and Schwritz, remained attached to the Catholic church. These said, the reformation of religion belonged not to the people, nor to any particular country, but to a general council, or to the universal Church, in union with her visible head. A civil war was ready to break out between the parties. Zuinglius strove, when too late, to extinguish the flame he had kindled. He possessed no bravery, yet saw himself necessitated to

accompany his party to the field. He bewailed his fate. The appearance of a comet confirmed his persuasion that he was to be killed. The armies met at Cappel, 11th October 1531. The converts of Zuinglius were defeated, and he himself, as he had dreaded, fell in the battle. He had taught the errors of Pelagius, and was exceedingly zealous for the salvation of Socrates, Scipio, Cato, Seneca, Hercules, and Theseus. The cantons made peace, on condition that both parties should enjoy the free exercise of their religion.

From the bosom of Luther's reform and that of Zuinglius, there sprung shoals of contending sects, all inimical to the Catholic Church, and to each other. Such were the Anabaptists, who were subdivided into thirteen or fourteen sects. The Sacramentarians were cut into nine divisions; the Confessionists shot out in twenty-four separate branches; the Extravagants, who opposed the confession of Ausburg, filed off in nine distinct squadrons. Those jarring sects abounded in Germany, and spread themselves through the Netherlands, France, and England.

Numerous  
spawn of sect

John Calvin, a man of genius and learning, and a good writer, undertook to form a regular system and an orthodox creed. He laid down as a fundamental principle, which was admitted by all the sects, and which proved the inexhaustible source of endless divisions, viz. That the Scripture was the sole rule of faith, and that every person of sound judgment was a competent judge of the sense of the Scripture. He composed the four books of his Institutions (afterwards for some time the standard of Scottish theology). He wrote methodically, and his preface to the Institutions is a master-piece of address. He dedicated that work to Francis I. King of France.

Calvin.

The articles of Catholic faith which Calvin attacks, had been already all denied, and combated by different sects, which were confuted and condemned as they arose.

Calvin's arguments and objections were an abridgment of those of the Iconoclasts, Donatists, Predestinarians, Albigenes, Waldenses, Beguards, Fratricelli—of Vigilantius, Wickliff, and Huss. These subjects again stirred up a world of controvertists on both sides, absorbed for near two centuries a great portion of the efforts of the human mind, and deluged many countries with human blood.

Calvin was made professor of divinity at Geneva in 1536, from whence he was banished as a seditious person in 1538. He retired to Strasburg, where he disseminated his doctrine, and married the widow of an Anabaptist, having previously reconciled her to his own faith. He assisted at the conference of Worms in 1540, and afterwards at that of Ratisbon. . He returned to Geneva, where he drew up a formula of confession of faith, of ecclesiastical discipline, and a catechism ; all which, with some difficulty, he got passed into a law, 20th November 1541. In that town he spent the remainder of his life, and acquired such authority, that he was called the *Pope of Geneva*. Yet he did not enjoy his triumph in tranquillity. His sour and gloomy temper, and his arbitrary, and sometimes cruel despotism, created him many enemies, and even caused disorders in the city. Bolsec, an apostate Carmelite friar, accused Calvin of making God the author of sin ; and in proving his accusation, was heard with pleasure. Calvin, who had secretly listened to one of Bolsec's discourses, immediately after appeared on the stage to confute his adversary ; but the arguments of Calvin, and the fury with which he delivered them, did not efface from the minds of the auditors the impression which Bolsec had made on them. Calvin prevailed on the magistrates to imprison Bolsec, where he was ill-treated, under pretext that he caused scandal, and troubled the peace of the Church. Calvin pushed his vengeance or his precautions further. . He wrote to the Swiss Cantons, that the world ought to get rid of that pernicious man, lest he

might infect the neighbouring countries with his poison. Calvin wrote a book on the right of magistrates to punish heretics with death; and his causing Servetus to be burned at the stake, proves the sincerity of his sentiments. Gibbon says (ch. 54), “ The pious or personal animosity of Calvin proscribed in Servetus the guilt of his own rebellion. I am more scandalized at the single execution of Servetus, than at the hecatombs which blazed in the *auto de fes* of Spain and Portugal. Calvin seems to have been envenomed by personal malice, and perhaps envy. He accused his adversary before their common enemies, the magistrates of Vienne, and betrayed for his destruction the secret trust of a private correspondence.” Servetus still hoped to escape to Naples, and there to practise physic. Unluckily he took the way of Geneva. Calvin, informed of his arrival, acquainted the syndic of it, and caused him to be apprehended. Poor Servetus was burned at the stake, 27th October 1553.

Calvin died at Geneva, 27th May 1564, at the age of fifty-five. It is much to be lamented that a man of such superior talents, fine genius, considerable erudition, delicate taste, and so elegant a writer, should not have made a better use of his abilities !

Gibbon (ch. 54, page 536) says, “ A philosopher who calculates the degree of merit of the reformers, and the value of their reformation, will prudently ask, from what articles of faith *above or against* reason, they have enfranchised the Christians; for such enfranchisement is doubtless a benefit, so far as it may be compatible with truth and piety. After a fair discussion, we shall rather be surprised by the timidity, than scandalized by the freedom of our first reformers. With the Jews they adopted the belief and defence of all the Hebrew scriptures, with all their prodigies, from the garden of Eden to the visions of the prophet Daniel; and they

Gibbon's  
marks of  
Reformation

“ were bound, like the Catholics, to justify, against the  
 “ Jews, the abolition of a divine law. In the great mys-  
 “ teries of the trinity and incarnation, the reformers were  
 “ severely orthodox : they freely adopted the theology  
 “ of the four, or the six first councils, and with the Atha-  
 “ nasian creed, they pronounced the eternal damnation of  
 “ all who did not believe the Catholic faith.”

Lelius and  
 Faustus So-  
 L.

Lelius and Faustus Socinus might have set the learned historian at liberty from the entanglements and scruples of the first Protestants. Whilst the countries into which the new doctrines had been introduced were inflamed by party zeal, and torn asunder by faction, in the year 1546, at Vicenza, a city in the Venetian territory (which fanaticism had not yet reached), Lelius Socinus, with a few more persons distinguished by learning, birth, and office, established a kind of club, to confer together upon the religious squabbles which had made such noise.

Their plan.

“ The confusion,” said they, “ the abuses, the whimsi-  
 “ cal and opposite creeds, that have lighted the flames of  
 “ discord in Europe, seem to prove that religion ought  
 “ to be reformed. Let us coolly investigate and endea-  
 “ vour to correct what is wrong. All parties acknow-  
 “ ledge that the Scripture contains the pure word of God.  
 “ The reformers consign its interpretation to every per-  
 “ son of sound judgment. Let us add the principles of  
 “ philosophy and the rules of criticism to assist the inter-  
 “ pretation.” Pursuant to this plan, they reduced the  
 Christian creed to the following articles, viz.—

Their creed.

“ There is only one God most High, who created all  
 “ things by the power of his *Word*, and governs all by  
 “ the same. That *Word* is his Son, and that Son is  
 “ Jesus of Nazareth, son of Mary, a mere man ; but a  
 “ man far superior to other men. That Son is he whom  
 “ God had promised to the ancient patriarchs, and whom  
 “ he has given to men. It is that Son who announced  
 “ the Gospel, and taught men the way to heaven, by

“ mortifying the flesh, and living piously. That Son  
 “ died by the order of his Father, to procure the remis-  
 “ sion of our sins. He rose again by the power of his  
 “ Father, and is glorious in heaven. They who are  
 “ submissive to Jesus of Nazareth are justified by God,  
 “ and they who live piously in him regain the immorta-  
 “ lity which they lost in Adam. Jesus Christ is the sole  
 “ Lord and Chief of the people subjected to him. He  
 “ will come again at the consummation of the world, to  
 “ judge the living and the dead. The Trinity, the con-  
 “ substantiality of the *Word*, and the divinity of Jesus  
 “ Christ, &c. are only opinions drawn from the philo-  
 “ sophy of the Greeks. They are not revealed articles.  
 “ Whatever is above the comprehension of human rea-  
 “ son is allegory, and must be explained by the rules of  
 “ criticism and common sense. The generation of the  
 “ *Word* by the Father from eternity, and the manner by  
 “ which he was made man; the real presence of Christ  
 “ in the Eucharist; original sin, and the efficacy of bap-  
 “ tism to efface it, &c. are all fables, creatures of the  
 “ imagination.”

Faustus Socinus, the nephew of Lelius, studied his  
 uncle's writings, and adopted his sentiments, which he  
 disseminated in Transylvania and Poland. While the  
 greater number of the Calvinist ministers refused to have  
 any conference or society with a man who renewed the  
 errors of the Ebionites, Samosatians, and Arians, three  
 of those ministers, Volanus, Nemojonius, and Paleologus,  
 less scrupulous and more daring than their brethren, un-  
 dertook to dispute personally with Faustus Socinus.  
 They accordingly published theses, and sustained them  
 in the College of Posmania. Faustus attended.

Dispute 1  
 the Calvin

The reverend gentlemen cited the usual texts of Scrip-  
 ture to prove the Holy Trinity, with the divinity and  
 incarnation of Jesus Christ; but Faustus put them in  
 mind of their own fundamental principle, viz. “ *that the*



*“Scripture is to be interpreted by every person of sound judgment,”* and therefore claimed the right of explaining those texts in his own way. They then had recourse to ancient fathers and councils; but Faustus replied, “You yourselves have avowed that there is not among men any sovereign and infallible judge in matters of faith. Fathers and councils, you acknowledge it, have erred. Why then adduce authority for which yourselves have so little deference?”

Faustus Socinus reconciled the jarring congregations of Lithuania and Poland to his pretended philosophic creed. He died in the village of Luclavia, in 1604, at the age of sixty-five.

Hume, it seems, had reason to say, *that all criterion of truth and falsehood in matters of religion was lost in departing from the authority of the Church; and D’Alembert and Diderot, that Socinianism is the necessary consequence of Protestant principles.*

Gibbon remarks, *that the Protestants’ appeal to private judgment was accepted beyond their wishes, and that the doctrine of a Protestant church is now far removed from the knowledge or belief of its private members, and that the forms of orthodoxy, the articles of faith, are subscribed with a sigh or a smile by the modern clergy.*

*The march of intellect, as it is called, has of late made gigantic strides in the German school, the cradle of Protestantism, where, it seems, it is unblushingly advanced, “That Christ himself had neither the design nor the power of teaching any system that was to endure,—that there is no necessity for, nor indeed existence of, divine revelation,—that the doctrine of Christ and his apostles was gathered from no other source than the Jewish philosophy,—that Christ himself erred, and his apostles spread his errors,—and that, consequently, no one of their doctrines is to be received on their authority. A Christian is not bound to receive a single*

Remarks of  
Hume and  
Gibbon.

German  
school.

“book of the Old Testament, as of divine origin, nor  
 “can any man receive moral improvement from them.  
 “The historical books of the New Testament are only  
 “valuable for the weaker brother. The Gospel of St.  
 “John is to be rejected: it is the work of a Gentile  
 “Christian in the second century. His Revelation is a  
 “drama, describing the fall of Judaism and Paganism,  
 “or entirely the work of a fanatic. The catholic epistles  
 “were written to promote the union of two parties, the  
 “Jews and the Gnostics: Christ endeavoured to conci-  
 “liate both. The Gospels which we possess were those  
 “of the Jewish party. The documents which recorded  
 “Christ’s addresses to the Gnostics have perished, ex-  
 “cept the Gospel of Marcion (*i. e.* of a branded heretic  
 “and forger.) Finally, all the positive and peculiar  
 “doctrines of Christianity are merely temporary in their  
 “nature and intention.” Vide *Rose’s Discourses*, pas-  
 sim.

To such wild and blasphemous notions and assertions  
 is the unsteady mind of man carried, when he emanci-  
 pates himself from the authority established by God, and  
 abandons himself to the inconstancy of his reason, the  
 flights of his imagination, the caprice of his humour, or  
 the sway of his passions.

The Reformation had made considerable progress on  
 the continent ere it had much influence on Scotsmen, ex-  
 cept among a few fanatics or hypocrites; but, after the  
 death of James V., when the government was weak, it  
 began to appear. Some disciples of the German school  
 ventured over, and were joined by some renegade friars  
 and apostate priests, who were weary of their monastic  
 discipline or their breviaries: but had our countrymen  
 been actuated by a sincere love of truth, and had made  
 a little more use of their reason, they would have ex-  
 amined a little better the character of those *soi-disant*  
 evangelists, and paused before they listened to their doc-

Reformers  
 gan to steal  
 into Scotlan

trine. In embracing the true religion, Almighty God does not bid us entirely lay aside all use of our reason, nor is it reasonable that we should listen to every person who pretends to know and to teach truth. It belongs to the wisdom of God, not only to replenish with light and truth the preachers of a new system, or the renewers of a degenerate one, but also to endow those messengers of truth with certain exterior gifts and qualities which would naturally and reasonably incline men to give them a hearing. Thus we perceive that, in times past, he has exalted some persons with the gift of miracles and other supernatural endowments. Some he has distinguished by an eminent sanctity and austerity of life, which far surpassed the common run of mankind. We hear of nothing interested, low, or carnal, in the lives of those renowned bishops and great men, whom the Almighty raised up to oppose the heresies which arose against his church; such as a Cyprian, an Athanasius, a Basil, a Gregory Nazianzen, a Jerome, an Epiphanius, a Chrysostom, or an Augustine. These were eminent, not only for learning, but still more for sanctity; disinterestedness and continence were always united with their ministry. Their lives were pure, irreprehensible, and naturally attracted the esteem of all who loved virtue, and made every body own that they were persons well qualified for announcing and defending truth; but the first view and knowledge of what our reforming preachers in Scotland were, must have betrayed an immense dissimilitude between these and those. Certainly perjury, apostacy, and scandalous marriages, were no eminent characteristics of superior virtue; and the doctrine and practice of breaking down cloisters, unveiling nuns, abolishing austerities, and destroying all the ancient discipline, could not impress reasonable men with any sincere respect.

Without examining, at present, whether the law of

at ought  
have been  
criticism  
Scotmen.

palpable ob-  
jections against  
the new  
preachers.

celibacy be just or unjust, it cannot be denied that the most celebrated bishops of antiquity, and those who have been the most illustrious for sanctity, have deemed it advisable to imitate the conduct and conform to the counsel of St. Paul, by renouncing marriage, in order to attach themselves more closely to God; and that God had, from the first ages of Christianity, inspired a vast number of both sexes to live single and chaste, as St. Justin and Origen testify against Celsus.

Our countrymen might, therefore, very naturally *have* asked, “Whence comes it that there appears nothing of that heroic self-denial, or the motions of the holy spirit, in these pretended reformers, nor in the sects to which they belong?” The contrary was so visible, that when any one announced to Erasmus that the reformers had got a new brother, he jocosely replied,—“*Then they shall soon have a new sister.*” Yet while the preachers owned that they had not received from God those graces which he had formerly bestowed upon persons of a moderate degree of virtue, they pretended that they were endowed with lights and knowledge superior to the ancient fathers, and had been destined by the Almighty to correct errors which the ancient fathers had never perceived. They pretended that the fathers had been ignorant of the very essence of religion in many necessary articles of faith; that they had authorised dangerous superstitions, made unjust laws, and given rash, imprudent, and pernicious counsels; for it was easy to remark, that the greater part of the articles of faith, and practices, which the preachers inveighed against, such as the authority of bishops, prayers for the dead, the oblation of the Eucharist, the celibacy of priests, religious vows, invocation of saints, works of penance, the fast of Lent, and religious ceremonies, fell all upon the fathers.

Besides, those preachers, and the meanest of their fol-

lowers, pretended to a more extensive power of understanding and explaining the Scripture than the fathers, and discovered therein many prohibitions which the fathers had never remarked. Now such a monstrous alliance of accumulated and supereminent lights, with such a scanty provision of the gifts of grace, or marks of virtue, or sanctity, was so contrary to the known order of God's providence, and the manner in which he had hitherto acted in the world, that it formed a fair and equitable presumption that those preachers were wolves in sheeps' clothing.

ts of the  
formation,  
according to  
the reformers.

Moreover, as the Reformation had been widely spread over the continent before it got any notable footing in Scotland, our countrymen ought, in prudence, to have enquired what good effects it had produced, where it had been received ; and they could not have imagined that the reformers themselves would have falsely given an unfavourable account of it. Now Capiton, minister of Strasburgh, wrote in confidence to his friend Farrel, the friend and companion of Calvin, that “ God had  
“ shewn them the hurt they had done to men's souls by  
“ the precipitation with which they had led them to se-  
“ parate themselves from the Pope. The multitude has  
“ entirely shaken off the yoke, being accustomed, and  
“ almost reared, to licentiousness, as if in ruining the  
“ authority of the Pope, we had wished totally to ruin  
“ and destroy the strength of the Word, the effect of the  
“ sacraments, and the whole ministry. They have the  
“ hardihood to tell us, ‘ We are sufficiently instructed  
“ ‘ in the Gospel ; we can read it ourselves ; we have no  
“ ‘ more occasion for you.’—*Cap. Ep. ad Farrel.*

Calvin gives no more favourable testimony of his reformation, when he speaks sincerely. He avows that,  
“ among the small number of those who have separated  
“ themselves from the idolatry of the Pope, the greater  
“ part are themselves full of perfidy and dissimulation :

“ They display externally much ardent zeal ; but if you  
 “ sound them somewhat deeper, you will find them re-  
 “ plete with deceit and fraud.”—*Calv. in Daniel, ch.*  
*xi. 84.*

Luther, who was more open and candid than the Cal-  
 vinists, speaks sufficiently clearly of the fruits of his refor-  
 mation in regard to morality. “ We see (says he) by the  
 “ malice of the devil, men are now more avaricious and  
 “ pitiless, more abandoned to vice, more insolent, and,  
 “ upon the whole, much worse than they were under the  
 “ Papacy.”—1 *Dom. Adv. 5th vol.*

Instead of that admirable patience which the Church  
 shewed under persecution for the three first centuries,  
 the spirit of the Reformation led its followers to dethrone  
 princes, and deluge Europe with blood. Luther animates  
 his disciples to blood and carnage thus : “ If thieves are  
 “ hanged on gibbets, highwaymen and heretics punished  
 “ by the sword, why do not we attack with all our force  
 “ those cardinals and popes, and all that rabble of the Ro-  
 “ man Sodom which never ceases to corrupt the Church  
 “ of God? Why do we not wash our hands in their blood?”  
 —*Tom. 1. an. 1545, fol. 195 ; Edit. Wittenberg.*

The inconstancy and inconsistency of the Protestant  
 Reformation is well described by Beza, in a letter to his  
 friend Andrew Duditius :—“ Our people are carried a-  
 “ bout by every wind of doctrine, now to this side, and  
 “ then to the other ; perhaps you might learn what their  
 “ religious creed is to-day, but you cannot be sure what  
 “ it will be to-morrow. In what article of religion do  
 “ those churches, which have declared war against the  
 “ Pope, agree among themselves? If you run over all  
 “ their articles, from the first to the last, you will not  
 “ find one but what is received by some as of faith, and  
 “ rejected by others as impious.”

Had our ancestors seen those testimonies, and carefully  
 examined the effects of the Reformation in the continen-

tal countries, they could not reasonably have expected the amelioration of our country by receiving the new doctrines.

Again, had our ancestors been actuated by a sincere love of truth, they ought, before they listened to the new preachers, to have asked them whence they drew their authority? You pretend (they might have said) to correct all abuses and errors that have crept into the Church; you form new societies; you undertake to preach the word of God, to administer the sacraments, and perform all pastoral functions. Now, all those who have hitherto been acknowledged in the Church as lawful pastors, were ordained by bishops, and drew their mission from a Church, the faith of which they defended, and the authority of which they acknowledged. Your mission ought either to be legal and ordinary, by due ordination and succession; or, if extraordinary, that is, if you have been raised up and sent immediately by Almighty God to reform the erring and ruined state of the Church, you, doubtless, must be endowed with the gift of miracles as your credentials. Whatever our pastors may be, as to their morals, they can all shew at least a lawful ordination and mission.

Should the preachers have replied with *Dumoulin*, “That an idolatrous and heretical Church, such as the Roman Catholic Church had become, might still confer orders and a sufficient vocation to resist and correct the abuses of that same Church—that a pastor so ordained might convert his flock, and if his enemies pretended to degrade him, their degradation went for nothing.” That maxim and its argument is not only destitute of all proof, but is also directly opposite to the standing belief and practice of all antiquity, and is moreover rejected by the greater part of the reformers. Besides, in all past ages, priests have never attributed to themselves the power of ordination, nor have been allowed to attempt it. The

No lawful  
ministry with-  
out a lawful  
mission.



Church has always reserved that function for the Episcopal order. Therefore the pretended mission of apostate priests and monks, and those to whom they attempted to communicate it, is evidently null, and destitute of all authority. Moreover, a great portion of the reformed preachers had no shadow of ordination but from laics. Beza relates, that the first Protestant ministers at Metz, Orleans, Senlis, and Aubigny, were established by a crowd of artificers. Peter le Clerc, a wool-carder, was made minister at Meaux by his brethren wool-carders. John Masson la Riviere was constituted the first reforming minister at Paris by a company of laymen. Many of yourselves (might Scotchmen have said) are adventurers of the same kind, asking from us a vocation which we cannot bestow.

Defeated, and incapable of producing any ordinary and successive mission, the preachers would no doubt have pretended an extraordinary mission, and said with Calvin, in his Institutions, “ That the qualities of Apostles and “ Evangelists were extraordinary, and were not estab- “ lished to be perpetual in the Church : That God had, “ in process of time, again established Apostles, or at “ least Evangelists, because there was need for them to “ withdraw mankind from the grasp of Antichrist.”

This second subterfuge created a warm dispute between Saravias, who rejected it, and Theodosius Beza, who adopted it. “ Yes,” said Beza, “ we admit that extraor- “ dinary mission, which proceeds from an interior inspi- “ ration of God ; but it must have these three conditions, “ viz. 1st, That there was no possibility of an ordinary “ vocation ; 2d, The spirit of such doctor must be tried, “ his doctrine must be measured by the word of God,” (Query, Who were to be the measurers?) “ and his “ morals examined ; 3d, He must be lawfully ordained “ by the church” (i. e. by the rabble) “ which he has col- “ lected. Shall we imagine,” continues Beza, “ that those

Contradictions of their tenets.



“ papistical ordinations are to be admitted, which are  
 “ destitute of the regulations prescribed by the divine  
 “ law for election and ordination ; which are an infamous  
 “ traffic of the Roman harlot, more filthy than the hire  
 “ of a prostitute ? No, no ; such ordinations must pass  
 “ through a severe ordeal, abjuration, and renewal, be-  
 “ fore they can be accounted legitimate.”—*Beza. ad tract*  
*de Min. Evan. grad.*

The same was decided in the synod of Gap, 1608, which decrees that the reformation was made by men raised up by God in an extraordinary manner, and that recourse must not be had to the pretended ordination which might be deduced from the church of Rome.

Yet Beza, by a great inconsistency, is unwilling to extend this privilege of extraordinary vocation to others who have an equal right to it as himself. “ There can  
 “ be nothing,” says he, “ more pernicious than to allow  
 “ every new-comer, who may think himself learned in the  
 “ word of God, to mount the pulpit, assemble a new  
 “ church, which he has embued with his doctrine, and to  
 “ pretend that the Christian society in which he has been  
 “ brought up is altogether false and corrupt.” Beza condemns such a proceeding, as being like the anabaptists and libertines. He contends that this were to follow the example of the false apostles, who raised such tumults, intruding themselves every where, *without being sent* by the true apostles. He protests he is far from opening a door to such pernicious licentiousness—“ *Abait igitur, ut*  
*huic licentiæ longe perniciosissimæ ostium aperiamus.*” Such is the evidence which the force of truth extorted even from Beza.

This specious invention, therefore, of an extraordinary mission, can be of no more use to the reformers than the ordinary vocation that some would fain have alleged. It has no foundation in scripture ; for though it was foretold of the old law, that it was to be changed and come to an

end, yet the new law is always represented as to be perpetual, and to endure until the consummation of the world. Therefore, the manner of perpetuating that ministry having been appointed by Christ, and announced by the apostles, Mat. xxviii. 20, Eph. iv. 11, &c. without mention being made in any place of scripture that it was to finish or fail, or to stand in need of any renewal by an extraordinary vocation, that chimerical mission of the new preachers is destitute of all foundation, and falls to the ground.

It were useless to reply, that such extraordinary vocation is not positively disproved. The *onus probandi* lies on the inventors. The faith of past ages rested satisfied with the promise of Jesus Christ, that he would remain always with his apostles and their lawful successors.

Tertullian always presses the heretics of his time to shew their origin, to count their succession from the apostles, or those apostolic men who had lived with the apostles.

St. Cyprian tells Novatian that he could not be enrolled in the list of bishops, because, in contempt of evangelical and apostolical tradition, *he had sprung from himself, and had succeeded nobody.* Ep. 76, Contra Parm.

Sentiments of  
the Fathers.

St. Hilary denies the validity of the ordination of the Arian bishops of his time, because they had received it from anathematised heretics, who were not bishops themselves. *Lib. de Synod.*

Yet all these reasonings would have been overturned by admitting the plea of extraordinary vocation; and surely those ancient heretics had an equal pretence to it with the modern reformers. That pretended extraordinary mission, then, is condemned by all antiquity. All the Fathers agree with St. Cyprian, Ep. 76, *that he is incapable of being a pastor who has not been ordained in the church. Habere enim, et tenere ecclesiam nullo modo potest, qui ordinatus in ecclesia non est.*

But setting aside Scripture and tradition, common sense alone shews the absurdity that the Almighty should have, by an extraordinary vocation, authorised the reformers to execute all that they have done. Such power would have far exceeded the authority given to the prophet Jeremiah, who “was set over nations and kingdoms, to root up and to pull down, to waste and to destroy, to build and to plant ;” Jer. i. 10. For, after all, he was only commissioned to foretell the evils that were to befall the nations whom these prophecies regarded, and to admonish the Jewish priests to correct their vices, without despoiling them of their ministry, or usurping it himself. The authority assumed by the reformers extended much further ; for,—

1. According to them, they had received more ample powers than all the ancient pontiffs and bishops to rule the church. That commission gave them universal jurisdiction to preach the reformation over all the earth, and to establish pastors everywhere to preach it upon their authority.

2. They had a right to degrade, depose, and anathematise all the existing pastors throughout the world, of whatever communion they were ; and those bishops and pastors were obliged to consider themselves as really excommunicated, and must have had recourse to this new hierarchy to reinstate them, even if they should have embraced the reformed doctrine.

3. They were established by God to examine all the laws of the church, to nullify all the decrees which they considered as exceptionable, and to institute a new church government.

4. As they appeared in the world, and had preached the reformation, Christians of all denominations—Greeks, Armenians, Jacobites, Nestorians—were obliged to renounce and abandon their former communion, and to receive no pastor but one of the reformers.

Such as was commissioned by them, or some such extraordinary apostles and evangelists! All this and more was included in this chimerical reforming power: a scheme certainly as wild as if a person had pretended that the Almighty had established him king over all the earth, with a power of deposing all who did not acknowledge his pretended right.

The most modest, and the most reasonable demand that our ancestors could have required of the new preachers was to have authenticated and sanctioned their pretended extraordinary mission by evident miracles, such as Moses, as our Saviour and his apostles, wrought and appealed to, in order to accredit their divine mission and doctrine.

Miracles necessary to prove an extraordinary mission.

It were certainly contrary to the justice and truth of the Almighty, and contrary to his all-wise providence in all past ages, to have given the reformers that pretended extraordinary vocation, and not to have accompanied it with the gift of miracles, or some equivalent divine proof that it was really given. The obedience of the people, and the authority of pastors, are correlatives. God could not impose upon the former an obligation to obey, without giving clear evidence to whom that spiritual obedience was due. It was from that law of eternal justice that Jesus Christ himself declared—“*If I had not done among them the works that no other man hath done, they would not have sin ;*” John xv. 24. “*If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not ; but if I do, though you will not believe me, believe the works ;*” John x. 37, 38. Miracles are absolutely necessary to accredit every extraordinary mission. Therefore Pacian asks, “*Has Novatius the gift of tongues ? Has he prophesied ? Has he raised the dead to life ?*” Tertullian requires of Hermogenes and Nigidius, *that they prove their apostleship by their miracles.* “*Probant se apostolos esse. Volo et virtutes eorum proferri.*”

Shall the reformers give for divine proof of their mission, its success and progress? There never was a more deceitful or equivocal mark, nor one less capable of convincing reasonable persons. It is an effect common to truth and falsehood. The impostors Barkekebas and Mahomet, as well as the heresiarch Arius, had all a mischievous success; and we have seen how little reason Luther, Calvin, and Beza thought that they had to boast of the good effects of their reformation.

It is indeed somewhat surprising that heresies which regarded only speculative tenets, in which the senses and passions were little interested, should have created such troubles and divisions; but that systems, such as those of Luther and Calvin, which so favoured the darling passions and corrupt inclinations of the human heart, should have spread rapidly, there is nothing wonderful. In breaking down cloisters, in opening convents, in allowing priests, monks, and nuns, who had lost, or never possessed, the spirit of their vocation, to contract scandalous marriages, is it surprising that many should have let themselves be carried away by the bent of their concupiscence, or the impulse of their passions? I should indeed as soon deem miraculous the success of Balaam's hellish counsel to Balac, to ensnare the Israelites by the allurements of the daughters of Madian. Is it strange that in sweeping away all the painful laws of the Catholic church, such as fasting, confession, with penitential exercises, there should have been found a great number of lax and carnal-minded persons, who would lend a willing ear to such accommodating doctrines? Is it wonderful that, by attacking incomprehensible mysteries, which have a seeming contrariety to the senses, and an apparent repugnance to ill-informed reason, many curious, proud, and presumptuous minds should have been inveigled in impious denial of what the Saviour had declared to be true?

But what, above all, promoted the spread of the Reformation in Scotland was, that the nobility and gentry, (among whom piety had long fallen into decay, and who, by their powerful patronage, had filled the highest dignities of the church with unworthy subjects, ofttimes their own spurious brood, and who had already begun to cast a covetous eye upon the church-lands) encouraged the populace, by the hopes of plunder and licentiousness, to deeds of sacrilegious rapine and destruction, and instigated the fanatical preachers to rail against the real or pretended abuses amongst the clergy and monks, all with a view to promote their own aggrandisement, and satiate their avarice or voluptuousness.

We need not, therefore, be astonished that the reformers, having enlisted in their service the strongest and most headstrong passions of the human heart, and accommodated their new opinions to such darling propensities, and to the liberty of interpreting the scriptures at pleasure, of believing, professing, or denying, as passion, interest, or whim dictated, the new doctrines should have spread to a much greater extent than they have done, had not that Providence, which sets boundaries to the raging ocean, employed the very discord of the jarring sects to circumscribe and destroy each other.

Causes of the progress of the Reformation.

The reformation which was wanted in Scotland and elsewhere was a reformation of morals, not of faith; the filling of both the highest and the subordinate offices of the church with men of learning, piety, and zeal; the reforming not only the laxity that had crept into certain religious orders or houses, but also the far more wicked and profligate lives of the nobility and gentry: In a word, a reformation similar to that brought about by the virtuous Queen Margaret, and her illustrious husband, Malcolm III., which we have already noticed. But, alas! the throne was now empty; factions prevailed, and there were few prelates, such as Turgot, to promote so peaceable and so happy a melioration in the kingdom.

The real reformation wanted.



# THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

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## CHAPTER I.

**State of Scotland after the Death of James V.—Arran Regent—Henry VIII.'s Plan to secure the Conquest of Scotland—Mary's Coronation—Treaty of Marriage made and broken—Invasion of Scotland—Wishart's Death—Cardinal Beaton's Assassination—Knox's Ordination—Henry VIII.'s Death—Siege and Surrender of St. Andrews—New Invasion of Scotland—The young Queen sent to France—Queen-Dowager Regent—Inundation of new Preachers—Instigated by Knox—First Covenant—Marriage of the Scottish Queen with the Dauphin—Quarters the Arms of England with those of France and Scotland.**

**KING JAMES V.** dying in the flower of his age, and leaving an infant daughter only a week old ; war existing with England ; the nobles divided among themselves by jealousies and factions, heightened in some by an itch of novelty in religion, or at least by the prospect of gain resulting from such novelty ; the kingdom of Scotland resembled a ship at sea in a storm, the captain of which is swept overboard, the crew already mutinous and discordant ; different parties contending for the

A.C. 1542.

Seeds of discord at the time of Mary birth.



**A. C. 1542.** command, whilst all neglect the right management of the vessel, she is in imminent danger of foundering, or being driven on rocks. “ *In those days there was no king.....but every one did that which seemed right to himself.*”

Amidst this jarring collision of political and polemical elements, Cardinal Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, who had for many years been considered as Prime Minister, endeavoured to lay hold of the helm of government, and (as it is asserted by Knox, Buchanan, and other historians on their credit) forged a testament of the late King, appointing himself chief Regent, and adjoining three of the Nobles as his counsellors and assessors. Yet this accusation itself has much the appearance of a forgery ; for although it seems that the Earl of Arran talked to Sir Ralph Sadler of such a fraud, for which he might prosecute the Cardinal, yet when the Cardinal was afterwards imprisoned, no such guilt was laid to his charge : and moreover, King Henry himself acknowledges to Sir R. Sadler,\* “ *that he could never learn what special things they had to lay against the Cardinal when they took him.*”

It may reasonably be presumed, that the Cardinal's enemies would not have let slip the occasion of impeaching him with this crime, if they could have proved it. Neither would Henry have been left uninformed of it. Besides, Knox and Buchanan do not agree in the names of the Nobles associated with the Cardinal in this pretended forged deed.

\* Keith, in a note, ch. 3. p. 25.

It seems to me, upon the whole, most probable A. C. 1542.  
 that the late King, from his intimacy with, and  
 confidence in the Cardinal, had verbally signified  
 his intention of appointing the Cardinal with some  
 others (in the event of his own death) the guardians  
 of the kingdom and of any infant heir during the  
 monage of such successor ; and that the Cardinal,  
 in opposition to the Earl of Arran, might wish to  
 avail himself of such declaration, although he could  
 not produce any document to support his asser-  
 tion.

But the majority of the Nobles, together with Arran R  
 the relations of the Earl of Arran, who was next  
 in blood to the Crown, on the 22d of December  
 proclaimed that Nobleman Regent of the Kingdom  
 and Tutor to the young Queen.

It were, in my opinion, to be wished in general,  
 that Prelates should not be torn from the sanctuary,  
 to re-engage them in the world, and that the Am-  
 bassadors of God should not become the deposita-  
 ries of the mysteries and intrigues of Courts : but  
 in that rude age, Sir Ralph Sadler observes, that  
 he had found neither learning nor talents among  
 the nobility of Scotland ; whereas among the clergy  
 he had discovered both.

Clergymen  
 ought to con-  
 fine themselves  
 to their sacred  
 offices.

The prisoners taken at Solway were committed  
 to the Tower of London ; but as soon as Henry  
 heard of the death of King James, and of the birth  
 of his daughter, he immediately conceived the idea  
 of securing the conquest of Scotland by a marriage  
 between his son Edward, a child of five years, and  
 the infant Queen of Scotland.

Full of this project, Henry caused the Scottish Policy of  
Henry VIII.

A. C. 1542.



prisoners of rank to be brought from the Tower and lodged with the principal office-bearers in London, and to be entertained with hospitality and splendour becoming their quality. He afterwards invited them to his court on the 26th of December, where, after royal banqueting and blandishments, he laid before them his plan, and solicited their interest for its execution, promising them liberty and other effects of his munificence as the rewards of their services, if brought to a happy issue ; signifying also his desire to have the young Queen immediately conveyed to England, and the strongholds of Scotland delivered into his hands. He likewise required, that upon their releasement they should give their sons or nearest relations as pledges of their return to captivity if they should fail in their purpose. Most of them cordially embraced the King's proposal, and even promised, upon oath, to use all their endeavours to bring about the match.

1543.

These Lords accordingly set out from London on the 1st of January, and having delivered their hostages at Newcastle to the Duke of Suffolk, returned to Scotland, accompanied by the Earl of Angus, and his brother Sir George Douglas, who, after an exile of fourteen years in England, brought King Henry's letters requesting the restitution of their lands and liberties.

▲ council  
summoned.

1543.

The Lords immediately informed the Regent of the King of England's proposal, to which he lent a willing ear, and summoned a council to meet on the 27th of January to deliberate upon the subject. The result was, to convoke a Parliament for the

12th of March ensuing, to concert measures, and carry into effect the proposals of peace, and the proffered marriage. But as they dreaded that Cardinal Beaton might mar their project, they laid hold of a report attributed to Lord Lisle, that the Cardinal had in view to bring over the Duke of Guise from France with an army, to subdue and rule over Scotland. Under this pretext, they shut up the Cardinal in the Castle of Blackness, ten miles from Leith, in custody of Lord Seton.

A. C. 154

Cardinal Beaton imprisoned.


The Parliament met, and proceeded to business. They declared James Earl of Arran the presumptive heir to the Crown (failing the infant Queen and the issue of her body), and lawful tutor to the Queen, as well as Regent of the Kingdom during her nonage.

Stimulated by the Lords lately come from England, the Parliament appointed, as Ambassadors to the court of England, James Learmont of Balcomy, Sir William Hamilton of Sanquhar, and Mr. Henry Balnaves, Secretary of State, to treat of the marriage between their Queen and Prince Edward; but spurned with indignation the idea of sending the royal infant to England, or of putting Henry in possession of the government or strongholds of Scotland, and positively forbade their commissioners to consent to these terms.

Commissioners sent to England.

The Bishops of Aberdeen, Murray, Orkney, Ross, and Brechin, the Abbots of Dunfermline and Couper, the Earls of Huntly, Murray, Argyle, Bothwell, Marischal, Cassillis, and Glencairn; the Lords Erskine, Ruthven, Maxwell, Seton, and Methven; the Provost of Aberdeen; Sir William

Regent's Council.

**A. C. 1543.**  Hamilton, Sir James Learmont, the Treasurer, Justice-Clerk, and the Queen's Advocate, were chosen to be the Regent's council, six of whom to form a *quorum*.

The Earls Marischal and Montrose, Lords Erskine, Ruthven, Livingston, Lindsay, and Seton, with the Laird of Calder, were appointed keepers of the Queen's Palace at Linlithgow or Stirling, at the Queen-Dowager's pleasure.

Lords of Articles restricted from meddling with church affairs.

The forfeitures of the Earl of Angus and Sir George Douglas were reversed. The Lords of the Articles\* were allowed to make laws for the general benefit, but were restricted from meddling with the affairs of the Church, or its privileges.

Attempt to carry the young Queen and Cardinal Beaton to England.

Henry endeavoured to cajole the Regent by an offer of giving his daughter Elizabeth in marriage to the Regent's son, the Lord Hamilton, as also of making Arran King of all Scotland beyond the Forth. An awkward and unsuccessful attempt was made, by connivance of the Earl of Glencairn, to carry off the young Queen and Cardinal Beaton into England. That plot having failed, Henry began to lower his conditions, and content himself with the promise that the Queen should be sent to England at the age of ten years.

Earl of Lennox called from France.

Meantime the Cardinal found means to be set at liberty, and thinking Mathew Earl of Lennox, then in France, might be useful to promote his views, allured him home with the hopes of marry-

\* The Lords of Articles were a kind of select committee, whose business it was to digest all matters which were to be laid before the Parliament, and had the principal management of every thing enacted. The King seems to have had the privilege of naming these Lords of Articles.

ing the Queen Dowager, and even suggested that she might have some claim upon the succession to the crown, as also upon the paternal estate of the Regent.\*

A. C. 1543.



The Cardinal held a convocation of the clergy at St. Andrews, in the beginning of May, to sound them upon a subsidy to be given by them in the event of a war with England. That assembly, on account of the absence of some of the bishops, was prorogued until the beginning of June. But the Cardinal finding his party to increase, and especially by the accession of the Earls of Huntly, Argyll, Bothwell, and Murray, who had still been averse to the match with England, concerted measures with the Queen-Mother, and carried off both Queens from Linlithgow to Stirling.

Queens transferred to Linlithgow.

That party endeavoured to prevent the meeting of the Parliament, which was summoned by the Regent, for the ratification of the treaties with England; but without success. The Parliament met on the 25th of August, and the Regent, with a faltering mind and a trembling hand, swore to and signed the treaties of peace and marriage, at high-mass in the church of Holyrood. The great seal of the

Treaty of marriage ratified, and broken.

\* The pretensions of the Earl of Lennox to the succession were thus founded. Mary, the daughter of James II., was married to James Lord Hamilton, whom James III. created Earl of Arran on that account. Elizabeth, a daughter of that marriage, was the wife of Mathew Earl of Lennox, and the present Earl was her grandson. The Regent was likewise the grandson of Princess Mary, by the female line. But the Regent's father having married Janet Beaton, the Regent's mother, after he had obtained a divorce from Elizabeth Home, his former wife, Lennox might allege that the sentence of divorce from Elizabeth Home was unjust; and that the Regent, being born while Elizabeth Home was still alive, ought to be considered as illegitimate.

A. C. 1543.

kingdom was appended thereto. Yet, about eight days after this solemn ratification, the Regent met the Cardinal and the Earl of Murray at Callander, rode with them to Stirling, and seems to have come over entirely to their party.

Henry's bad policy.

A rash and impolitic action of Henry, or perhaps despair of success in his negotiations with Scotland, gave a fair handle to the great body of the Scottish nation, which had always been averse to the alliance with England, to break off entirely the treaties, and to hold them as null. The matter was this : Henry had ordered some Scottish merchant ships to be seized, which, being laden chiefly with fish, and bound to France, had by storm or contrary winds cast anchor on the coast, or entered some of the ports of England, and on the faith of the treaties were supposed to be secure. The pretence for this seizure was, that these vessels were carrying provisions to Henry's enemies ; but it was evident that a commerce of this nature was noways against the treaties. Wherefore the French faction was strengthened, and the popular indignation against the English so heightened, that the mob of Edinburgh and Leith insulted King Henry's ambassador and his retinue.

The Regent and the Cardinal being now agreed in politics, it was deemed proper to straiten the tie by agreement in religion. The Regent had expressed great esteem for the new doctrine, and entertained two of the new preachers in his family. John Hamilton, abbot of Paisley, his natural brother, was sincerely attached to the ancient faith ; and having a great ascendancy over the Regent,

endeavoured to bring him back to the belief, or at least to the profession, of his former creed, by worldly no less than conscientious motives. He represented to him the danger of alienating the nobility, the clergy, and the people, but especially of strengthening the pretensions of Lennox, since his own legitimacy depended upon a divorce founded upon the Pope's authority. The vacillating Regent abjured the doctrine of the reformers in the Franciscan church at Stirling.

A. C. 1543.

The Regent  
abjures the re-  
formed doc-  
trines.

The solemnity of the young Queen's coronation was performed at Stirling on Sunday the 9th of September. The Regent carried the crown, and the Earl of Lennox the sceptre. A council was appointed to assist the Regent, consisting of the Cardinal, the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Bishops of Murray, Orkney, Galloway, and Dunblane; the Abbots of Paisley and Couper; the Earls of Huntly, Argyle, Murray, Bothwell, &c.

Mary crowned.

The Lords of the English faction (except Lord Fleming, who had deserted them), finding that the Regent had abandoned their cause, convened at Douglas Castle on the 25th of October, drew up and signed a bond of union to serve the King of England, praying his Majesty to send them assistance, especially of money. Lord Somerville, the bearer of this despatch, was apprehended and committed to prison. The same Lords again assembled on the 10th of December, to concert measures to annoy the opposite party.

A faction  
formed to  
serve Henry.

The Cardinal perceiving that Lennox was not a fit instrument for his purposes, or thinking he had no longer any use for him, having now the

Lenox dis-  
gusted with  
Cardinal Bea-  
ton, and wish-  
ing to ob-



A. C. 1543.

tain in marriage Lady Margaret Douglas, joins the re-

management of the Regent, employed his credit with the French court to have him recalled to France, that he might not disturb the measures of those who were sincerely devoted to the interests of that country. Lennox, provoked by the Cardinal's deception, went over to the adverse party, who rejoiced at so honourable an accession to their power. Lennox was, moreover, allured to this transit by the hopes of obtaining in marriage Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of the Earl of Angus by the late Queen Dowager of Scotland, and niece to King Henry, at whose court she resided. Lennox also, by a dextrous manœuvre, secured within his castle of Dunbarton 30,000 crowns in silver, which, with some arms and ammunition, had been sent by the court of France, in six or seven vessels, to be distributed among fit persons, at the discretion of the Queen-Dowager and the Cardinal. This incident happened because the French captains were ignorant of the rupture between Lennox and the friends of France.

A Parliament.

The Abbot of Paisley obtained from the Cardinal the office of Privy Seal, and was also advanced to be Treasurer of the Kingdom. The Parliament met in the beginning of December. On the 8th of that month, a summons of treason was directed against the Lords who had met at Douglas Castle. Next day an indemnity was passed for the Lords and Gentlemen who had carried the Queens to Stirling. On the 11th, the Parliament declared the treaties of peace and marriage with England to be expired. The same day, ambassadors of the King of France were introduced, for

Treaty with England annulled.

renewing ancient leagues between the respective kingdoms, and offering their master's assistance for defence of the young Queen, and the liberty of her realm, against the attempts of the King of England. The Cardinal, the Earls of Argyle and Murray, Lord St. John, and Sir Adam Otterburn, were appointed as commissioners to treat with the ambassadors ; to ratify old, and contract new alliances. The Cardinal, at the desire of the Regent and Estates, accepted the office of Lord High Chancellor.

A. C. 1543.


Committee to  
treat with the  
French am-  
bassadors.

About Christmas, Lennox, with the Lords of the English faction, assembled at Ayr, and having learned that the Cardinal meant to levy an army, and oblige Lennox to surrender the French money, they collected a numerous army from the western counties, and resolved to get the start of the Cardinal and Regent. At the head of this army, Lennox marched directly to Leith, and was ready to offer battle, between that town and Edinburgh. But the Cardinal and the Earl of Huntly, perceiving Lennox's superiority, amused him with a treaty, until his troops, being weary, began to disperse, and return to their homes. Lennox then came to Edinburgh, where an agreement was made, which was of short duration. Lennox apprehending some impending mischief, stole privately away from Linlithgow to Glasgow. Several scuffles ensued during the spring, which were to the disadvantage of the English faction.

English fac-  
tion attempt an  
insurrection.

Henry, enraged at the breach of the treaties, in the month of May sent Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, with an army of 10,000 men, on board

Henry in-  
vades Scot-  
land.

**A. C. 1544.**  two hundred vessels, commanded by Dudley Lord Lisle. This army disembarked at Leith, and were soon joined by a body of 4000 horse. These meeting with little resistance, pillaged and burned Edinburgh, Leith, and Dunbar, and continued their devastation to the borders. Incursions of a similar kind were repeated during the summer and winter following ; but the English, on a third expedition, were totally defeated at *Ancrum Moor*, on the 17th February 1545.

Battle of Ancrum Moor.

A faction contracts with Henry.

On the 17th of May 1544, the Earl of Glencairn, with Robert Stewart, Bishop elect of Caithness, and brother to the Earl of Lennox, formed a contract with Henry, in which Glencairn and Lennox promised all manner of assistance against their native country. Henry advanced to Glencairn a bounty of a thousand crowns, and promised to give Lennox the Lady Margaret Douglas in marriage, with a pension. Lennox sailed to England in the fleet which had been sent against Scotland, and on the 26th of June obliged himself to deliver up to the King of England the castle and territory of Dumbarton, the isle of Bute, &c. ; but though Lennox could not perform his part of the contract, Henry rewarded his inclination by bestowing on him the Lady Margaret Douglas, with a dowry of 6800 marks Scottish money, equal at that time to 1700 marks English ;\* and Lennox, by being a fugitive and an exile, became the father of a race of Kings, to the exclusion of his rival.

New doctrines countenanced.

In the foregoing year, the new doctrines began

\* It appears by this proportion, that the Scotch money at that time was equal to one-fourth of English of the same denomination.

to be countenanced, and especially by the Regent at that time, and by the Lords of the English faction, for reasons easily seen.

A. C. 1544.

Lord Maxwell made a motion in parliament, on the 15th of March 1543, for free liberty to read the scriptures in the vulgar tongue ; which motion, though it was objected to by Gavin, Archbishop of Glasgow, as a matter belonging chiefly to the clergy in a provincial council, yet was carried, with this *proviso*, viz. “ Provided always, that nae man  
“ dispute or hald oppinzeonis, under the painis  
“ contenit in the acts of parliament.”

The Regent also desired Sir Ralph Sadler to procure him from England, English bibles, and the statutes and injunctions of King Henry, for the reformation of the clergy, and the extirpation of the Pope’s authority ; and added, when the King of England shall have perfected and published his books, containing doctrine *maintainable by the mere truth*, if his Majesty were pleased to send him the same, he would not fail to distribute them in Scotland. As to the extirpation of monks and friars, and the abolition of the Pope’s authority, though he was very desirous of such improvements, yet he owned that would be a difficult matter to achieve ; “ for,” said he, “ there be so many great  
“ men in the kingdom that are Papists, that un-  
“ less the sin of covetousness bring them into it,”  
(i. e. the desire of having the lands of the abbeys in their own possession), “ I know of no other  
“ means to win them to my purpose in that be-  
“ half.” “ This was,” says Bishop Keith, “ *hitting  
“ the nail on the head.*” But the books which were

The Regent  
flatters Hen-  
ry’s ambas-  
sador.

Suggests best  
means of  
extirpating  
monks, and  
abolishing the  
Pope’s autho-  
rity :

A. C. 1544.

sent from England, it seems, were not much esteemed in Scotland, because the faction which favoured the new opinions cared only for confuting the Pope's authority, and depressing the established clergy, that it might enrich itself by the spoils of the church.

Yet punishes  
hereticks.

The Regent had no sooner changed sides, than, to evince his eager zeal for the cause he had espoused, he got an act of Parliament passed, on the 15th of December, for the prosecution and punishment of heretics.

In pursuance of this act, sometime afterwards, the Cardinal, accompanied by the Regent, the Earl of Argyle, Lord Justice-General, the Lord Borthwick, the Bishops of Dumblane and Orkney, &c. made a visitation of his diocese. While they were in the town of Perth, several persons were accused of heresy, but were indicted particularly for contravening the act of 1543, which forbade arguing or disputing concerning the sense of the scripture. Several were found guilty; three or four were banished, some imprisoned, five were hanged, and one woman drowned.

Reflections on  
persecution.

The barbarity of these times, among all sects, adjudged the punishment of death for what they accounted heresy. We have seen, that was the express doctrine of Calvin. When these opinions tend to rebellion, or to disturb the government, certainly the civil law has a right, for the preservation of public tranquillity, to punish seditious persons severely; but reason and true piety recommend calm and mild instruction; and experience has proved, that this charitable method has gene-

rally been the most successful. History tells us, that, after the reformation, persecution was a crime committed indiscriminately by all sects. Catholics persecuted, because they were strong; Protestants, as they grew into strength, immediately persecuted the Catholics; and as the Protestant sects varied, they persecuted each other. But of all the deaths suffered in Scotland for adherence to the new-fangled doctrines, that of Mr. George Wishart made the greatest noise, and was resented by infernal malice and barbarous murder, under the hypocritical garb of sanctity and justice.

Mr. Wishart (who was a son of Wishart of Pittarrow, and a zealous preacher of the new doctrines, which were certainly deeply tinged with rebellious principles) was seized at the house of Cockburn of Ormiston, conveyed first to the Castle of Edinburgh, and from thence to the Castle of St. Andrews, where he was condemned and burnt. In our more civilized days, every person, Catholic or Protestant, will regret and disapprove of such punishment. Knox and Buchanan have exalted the wisdom, the orthodoxy, the piety, and the courage of this man, by a cant of the most sanctimonious strain, and (as their histories now stand) have attributed to him, as an inspired prophecy, the following prediction, which he is said to have uttered at the stake, looking towards the Cardinal:

“He who, in such state, from that high place  
 “feedeth his eyes with my torments, within few  
 “days shall be hung out at the same window, to  
 “be seen with as much ignominy as he now lean-  
 “eth there in pride.”\*

A. C. 1.

George  
Wishart.

\* Knox, book i. p. 78.

A. C. 1540.

Mr. Hume, supposing the prediction to be real, says, *the prophecy was probably the cause of its own fulfilment*. But Keith\* accounts this, and several other things related concerning persons that suffered for religion in our country, quite ridiculous, and seemingly contrived, or at least magnified, on purpose to render the judges and clergymen of that time despicable in the eyes of men; and that, as to the passage of Wishart's prophecy, there is not one word of it in the first edition of Knox's history; that, moreover, Sir David Lindsay, who, in his poem called the *Tragedy of Cardinal Beaton*, rakes together all the worst things that he could gather, says nothing of his having glutted himself inhumanly with the spectacle of Mr. Wishart's death, nor of the prophetic intermination; so that he is of opinion, that it has been a story trumped up a good while after.

But the foul suspicion, if not absolute proof, of Wishart's guilt, which I subjoin in a note below,† will greatly diminish our respect for his piety, and lessen our pity for his sufferings.

\* Knox, book i. p. 42.

Keith, note (c),  
p. 43.

† Mr. Dempster, in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, printed at Bologna 1637, affirms that Wishart was in the plot to take away the Cardinal's life, and so might easily foretell his death. Dr. Mackenzie, in his *Life of Mr. Wishart*, has given an extract of a letter from the Earl of Hertford to King Henry, dated 17th April 1544, which seems strongly to support the truth of Dempster's assertion. Dr. Robertson has given the letter at full length, which he had found among the papers of the Duke of Hamilton,—*vide* Rob. vol. i. b. 2, p. 124. The substance of that letter is, that the Earl of Hertford introduces to King Henry a *Scottishman called Wishart*, who had letters from Crichton, Laird of Brunstan; 1°. Making an offer that the Laird of Grange, the Master of Rothes, and John Charteris, would attempt to apprehend or slay the Cardinal as he passed through Fife; and asking what reward his Majesty would give for such service? 2°. Proposing, that if Henry would grant a sum that would pay 1000 or 1500 men for a month or two, the Earl

Soon after this, the Cardinal went into Angus, to be present at the marriage of his daughter \* Margaret, with David Lindsay, the Master of Crawford, at Finhaven, the seat of the Earl of Crawford. There the Cardinal received intelligence that the King of England was making great naval preparations to infest the Scottish coasts: He therefore returned to St. Andrews, and appointed a day for the gentlemen in that vicinity to meet him, and consult upon the best means of defence; and in the meantime began to strengthen the fortifications of his own castle, little knowing of the snare that was laid for his destruction.

A. C. 10

Cardinal  
ton stren  
ens his c

A disagreement had taken place between him and Norman Lesly, son to the Earl of Rothes, who, stimulated by revenge, and perhaps desirous of putting in execution a premeditated murder, and preconcerted with King Henry, with fifteen accomplices, giving out, as a colour of pretext, the avenging the death of Mr. Wishart, went, early on Saturday the 29th of May, to the castle; and the gate being opened, and the drawbridge let down, to take in materials for the building, the assassins

Disagree  
with No  
Leslie.

Marischal, Master of Rothes, the Laird of Calder, and other Lords of the English faction, would, when his Majesty's army should be in Scotland, destroy the abbey and town of Arbroath, belonging to the Cardinal, and apprehend all the principal persons who were unfriendly to England. Dr. Robertson adds, that the Mr. Wishart, alluded to in the letter, was more probably John Wishart of Pittarrow; but this is asserted gratis, and Mr. Dempster and Dr. Mackenzie lived nearer the time. It seems also that Wishart studied some time at Cambridge, and Knox says he returned to Scotland in 1544, in company with commissioners returning from Henry.—Knox, book i, page 53.

\* The Cardinal was a widower, previous to his entering into holy orders. J. Anstruther, Esq., late sheriff-depute of Fife, was the Cardinal's lineal descendant.



**A. C. 1546.** rushed in, knocked down the porter, took the keys from him, and threw him into the ditch ; then having by degrees expelled the workmen and servants, hastened to the chamber where the Cardinal lodged,\* knocked at the door, and were asked who was there. John Lesly answered, “ My name “ is Lesly.” “ Which Lesly ?” said the Cardinal : “ Is it Norman ?” The reply was, he must open to those who were there. The Cardinal, fearing the worst, began to barricade the door ; and while they were endeavouring to force it open, he asked if they would spare his life. John Lesly answered, “ Perhaps we will.” The Cardinal required a promise upon oath. Lesly answered, “ What was “ said is unsaid ;” and called for fire to burn down **assassinated.** the door. The Cardinal, upon promise (as is reported) that no violence should be offered, opened the door, and sat down on a chair, saying, “ I am “ a priest ; you will not slay me !” John Lesly smote him once or twice, as did likewise Peter Carmichael. “ But James Melvil, a man,” says Knox, “ of nature most gentle and modest, perceiving them both in choler, withdrew them, “ and said, ‘ This work and judgment of God, al- “ ‘ though it be secret, ought to be done with “ ‘ greater gravity.’ And presenting unto him “ the point of his sword, said, ‘ Repent thee of “ ‘ thy former wicked life, but especially of the “ ‘ shedding of the blood of that notable instru- “ ‘ ment of God, Mr. George Wishart, which, al- “ ‘ beit the flame of fire consumed before men,

\* Knox says that the Cardinal wakened with the noise, and ran to the postern gate, but finding it guarded, returned to his chamber.

“ ‘ yet cries it for vengeance upon thee, and we  
 “ ‘ from God are sent to revenge it ; for here, be-  
 “ ‘ fore God, I protest, that neither the hatred of  
 “ ‘ thy person, the love of thy riches, nor the fear  
 “ ‘ of any trouble that thou couldest have done to  
 “ ‘ me in particular, moved or moveth me to strike  
 “ ‘ thee, but only because thou hast been and re-  
 “ ‘ mainest an obstinate enemy against Christ Je-  
 “ ‘ sus and his Holy Gospel.’\* And so he struck  
 “ him twice or thrice through the body with a  
 “ stog-sword.” Thus he fell under the hands of  
 the assassins. Since the creation of the world,  
 there perhaps never was a savage murder covered  
 over with such a blasphemous rhapsody of hypo-  
 critical cant.

A. C. 1548.

The noise soon spread of the seizure of the  
 castle, and many of the citizens hastened with  
 ladders to scale the walls, and, if possible, to res-  
 cue the Cardinal ; but when the dead body was  
 shewn them, they dispersed in melancholy horror.  
 Thus, by a most outrageous and shameful mur-  
 der, died Cardinal David Beaton, the last of that  
 dignity in Scotland. He was born in 1494 ; was  
 nephew to the preceding Archbishop of St. An-  
 drews. He was first Rector of Campsay in 1524,  
 Abbot of Aberbrothick in 1528, Lord Privy Seal  
 in 1537, Bishop of Mirepoix, in France, in 1538 ;  
 then Cardinal *Sancti Stephani in monte celio*,  
 next coadjutor and successor to his uncle in the  
 archiepiscopal see of St. Andrews ; and, finally,

\* In the octavo edition of Knox's history, opposite to this disgusting pas-  
 sage, on the margin, stands the following note : *The Godly fact and words*  
*of James Melvil.*

**A. C. 1546.** Lord Chancellor of Scotland, by the Earl of Arran, Regent.

**His character.**

Cardinal Beaton was undoubtedly a man of considerable talents and dexterity as a statesman, and sincerely attached to the ancient faith. His loss was therefore severely felt at that period, both in church and state : Yet, had he possessed the solid theological learning, and the genuine piety and mild charity of a Francis de Sales, the amiable Bishop of Geneva, he would have rendered far more essential service to religion, to his country, and to himself: He would have enlightened the minds of the ignorant ; calmed the minds agitated by incendiaries and wild fanaticism ; he would have escaped the hatred of his adversaries, prevented civil broils, and most probably have preserved the edifices which were the glory of our country.—  
*“ Godliness is profitable to all things.”*

**The assassins seize the castle.**

The perpetrators of the murder shut themselves up in the castle, and about a hundred and forty persons, of similar habits and dispositions, joined them, determined to share their fate. John Rough, a preacher of the new doctrines, enlisted himself in the party, and became their worthy pastor. John Knox also made his first exhibition among this sanctified congregation ; and by a *call* from them, expressed by the self-ordained John Rough, thought himself sufficiently qualified to begin his reformed ministry with this herd of murderers, adulterers, whoremongers, drunkards, and robbers, with whom he made common cause. The Regent's eldest son, who had been left as a pledge with the Cardinal, was kept by the assassins as a surety for themselves.

**John Knox becomes their chaplain.**

The Abbot of Paisley, and Bishop elect of Dunkeld, succeeded the Cardinal as Archbishop of St. Andrews. The Earl of Huntly was made Chancellor, and appended the great seal to a summons of treason served against the murderers, citing them to appear before the Parliament at Edinburgh, on the 30th of July ensuing.

A petition was presented to the Regent and counsel, praying for the suppression of heresy. An answer was given, ordering a list of the names of those who held or taught heretical opinions, that they might be proceeded against according to law.

The council ordained that all *fencible* men within the sheriffdoms of Lothian, Haddington, Linlithgow, Stirling, Perth, Strathern, and Monteith, should assemble at St. Andrews on the 29th August, *weil bodin in feir of weir*, to besiege that castle. But the besieged were assisted by sea from England. About the end of December, or beginning of January, a fictitious treaty was concluded between the besiegers and the besieged, which neither party intended to adhere to, but merely to protract time till they should receive aid from their respective friends in France and England.

King Henry died on the 28th of January 1547,\* leaving his kingdom to his son Edward, a boy of ten years of age. Within two months after, died Francis I. King of France, of an infinitely more worthy and more exalted character. He is justly

A. C. 1547.

Hamilton.  
natural brother of Arch-  
becomes  
Archbishop of  
St. Andrews.

Castle of St.  
Andrews  
besieged.

1547.

King Henry  
dies.  
Also Francis I.  
King of  
France.

\* His vices, says Dr. Robertson, were more beneficial to mankind than the virtues of others. Would the Doctor have admitted Gibbon's improvement upon his remark, viz. that the virtues of the Clergy (in general) are more to be dreaded than their vices?

**A. C. 1547.** styled *Francis the Great*, and the restorer of learning.

The assassins  
in St. An-  
drews capitu-  
tulate and  
surrender.

The Regent, with an army, had gone to the south to dislodge the English from the castle of Langhope, and some other places which they occupied, when he heard, towards the end of June, that a French fleet was on the east coast. He hastened to St. Andrews, where sixteen gallies had arrived, commanded by Leon Strozzi, Knight of Malta, and Prior of Capua. The siege, by sea and land, was formed on the 23d of July; but a great battery was erected, and began to play on the 30th, which, that very day, made such a breach in the wall, that the besiegers were preparing for an assault. The rebel garrison then offered to capitulate, and render the castle to Strozzi, because (as their secretary and historian Knox relates it) there was no native of Scotland a lawful magistrate. Their surrender was accepted, on these three conditions, viz.

1. That the lives of all within the castle shall be saved.

2. That their persons shall be transported into France.

3. Should they find that residence disagreeable, they shall be conveyed, at the expense of the King of France, to any other country they please, Scotland excepted.

The Regent recovered his son; and the French having obtained the spoil of the castle, with the remainder of the Cardinal's treasure, within a few days put to sea with their prisoners, of whom Knox and some others were kept in the gallies all the fol-

Knox is trans-  
ported to  
France with  
the assassins.

lowing winter. They were all set at liberty in July 1550, at the request of the Queen-Dowager of Scotland. The castle of St. Andrews, immediately after the siege, on account of the sacrilegious murder committed in it, was demolished.

A. C. 1547.

It is highly probable that the murderers had kept up a correspondence with Henry VIII. before the commission of their crime.\* It is certain they did so afterwards, and were supported by him, though contrary to a treaty between France and England of the 7th of June that year, in which treaty Scotland was comprehended. Our historians observe, that all the murderers died violent deaths.

In the beginning of September, the Duke of Somerset, Lieutenant-General and Lord Protector of England, in the minority of Edward VI. his nephew, entered Scotland with an army of 18,000 excellent troops, well provided with warlike stores. At the same time, a fleet of thirty-four ships of war, thirty transports, and a galley, sailed to the Frith of Forth. The Duke having destroyed the castle of Dunglass, passed by the castle of Dunbar, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Prestonpans, the fleet lying as near the camp as it conveniently could. At the distance of two miles along the shore, on the west side of the river Esk, near Musselburgh, lay a Scottish army of 30,000 men. Somerset, perceiving the Scottish force considerable, made some proposals of accommodation, still insisting on the fulfilment of the marriage treaty,

The Duke of Somerset invades Scotland.

\* Keith, b. i. p. 60. Many of these villains had pensions from England.—*Ibid.*

A. C. 1547.

but consenting that the young Queen should continue in Scotland until she were fit for marriage. This proposal the Regent did not make known to those who were favourably inclined to the match with England.

Hostilities began by some skirmishing between the Scottish horsemen and the English cavalry, during which Lord Home, by a fall from his horse, received a hurt, of which he died soon after. A challenge given by the Earl of Huntly to the Lord Protector of England, to decide the quarrel by a single combat, was rejected.

Battle of  
Pinky.

The Scotch perceiving a movement in the English army, which was, or was supposed to be, a retreat, too precipitately crossed the river Esk, the Earl of Angus leading the van, the Regent commanding the centre, and the Earl of Huntly bringing up the rear.\* A band of English cavalry were, at first, repulsed by the firmness of the Scottish spearmen; but that repulse was soon recovered, and the English gaining the advantage ground, their cannon played with great effect, whilst the firing from the English ships galled the flank of the Scottish army, which soon gave way, and the English made great slaughter in the pursuit. The Scotch lost about 8000, among whom were sundry of the nobility. Many prisoners were taken, the chief of whom was the Earl of Huntly, Chancellor of the kingdom. This battle was fought on Saturday the 10th of September 1547, on the east side of the Esk, opposite to Musselburgh, and was

\* Keith, b. i. p. 54. Redpath, p. 560. Buch. lib. xv. p. 298.

called the battle of Pinkey, from a country-seat near by.

A. C. 154

On the day after the battle, the English advanced to Leith, which they pillaged and burnt. They also made an attempt on Edinburgh, but were repulsed by the Castle. To secure the Friths of Forth and Tay, they fortified the little islands of Inchkeith and Inchcolm in the former frith, and Broughty-Craig, situated on the south side of the latter. The advanced season of the year, and intelligence of plots carrying on against him at the English Court, forced the Protector to return speedily to London. On his way, he took Home Castle, and fortified the ruins of Roxburgh; and, with some difficulty, repassed the Teviot, swelled with rain, on Michaelmas day, the 29th of September.

A few days after Somerset had entered Scotland, the Earl of Lennox and Lord Wharton,\* warden of the west marches, in order to distress the Scottish counties, and hinder them from sending help to the Regent, passed the marches with 5000 men, took Castlemilk, and destroyed Annan (the church and steeple of which were bravely defended), for which feats they received the thanks of the Protector. Other irruptions were made, during the winter and spring following, with various success. Annandale, Nithsdale, and Galloway were pillaged and overrun. Many of the principal proprietors swore fealty to Edward VI.

Lennox assists the English in ravaging Galloway, Nithsdale, Annandale.

The Regent of Scotland, with the nobility who had escaped from the battle of Pinkey, waited on

\* Redpath, p. 563; Hollingshed, p. 240.



A. C. 1548.

the Queens at Stirling. The Regent, in an eloquent speech, declared his intention of carrying on the war, and never to surrender their young Queen, or the rights and liberties of Scotland, to the ambition of its haughty enemies. The nobles applauded the speech, and offered their support. They determined to send the young Queen immediately to Dumbarton, under the custody of Lords Erskine and Livingston. The Scottish ambassador at the court of France was instructed to signify to King Henry the desire of the States of Scotland, that he would be pleased to send them some assistance, and that their young Queen might retire into France until she should become marriageable; insinuating, at the same time, that his son the Dauphin should be the bridegroom.

Proposals of  
sending the  
young Queen  
to France.

1548.

Mons. D'Essé  
assists the  
Scotch.

This overture was highly pleasing to the French king, who sent over Monsieur D'Essé with 6,000 troops. They arrived in Scotland about the middle of June following. That general, and his successor Monsieur de Thermes, performed many brave actions during their stay, in the campaigns of 1548 and 1549.\*

The French failed both in the siege and the attempted surprise of Haddington, which was afterwards abandoned and demolished by the Earl of Rutland. M. D'Essé recovered the Castle of Fernherst, on the west side of the Jed. The gover-

\* Bishop Keith refers to a book entitled *L'Histoire des Campagnes of 1548-9*, for a distinct account of the particular exploits of these years, and especially for the accurate narrative of the accident in which the Provost of Edinburgh was killed; and he infers, from the garbled relations of Knox and Buchanan, and from their contradiction of one another, that little stress can be laid upon the veracity of these historians.—Book i. ch. 5, p. 55.

nor thereof, after surrendering to a French captain,\* had his head struck off by a Scotsman, whose wife, it was said, he had ravished.

A. C. 1548:

D'Essé made some successful inroads into the English borders. He took the Castle of Cornhill, where spoils of considerable value were found. He also attacked and burnt a great part of the Castle of Ford. When obliged to retire, he carried off in safety his booty. The forts of Fast-castle and Home were both surprised by the Scotch.

At Coldingham, a body of Spanish mercenaries, on English pay, were surprised by a party of French and Germans, in the Scottish service, and were all made prisoners, or slain.† M. D'Essé having recovered Inchkeith from the English garrison (the greater part of which he put to the sword), delivered up his command to Mons. de Thermes, his successor, who had brought a considerable reinforcement with him from France.‡ The French and Scotch, next February, took by storm Broughty-Craig.

1549.

M. de Villegagnon, with four gallies, sailed from Leith harbour, as if bound directly for France; but as soon as he got out of sight of land, he tacked about, and passing through the Pentland Frith, touched at Dumbarton, where the young Queen was sent on board, and delivered to M. de Brèze, who was commissioned by the King of France to receive her. Lords Erskine and Livingston, several other young noblemen and gentlemen, Lady Fleming, and four young ladies of

Mary sails to France.

Lands in Brittany.

\* Hollingshed, p. 253.

† Lesly, p. 505.

‡ Buch. Redpath.

A. C. 1549.

Joins the  
French court.

the name of Mary, accompanied their young sovereign. After being sometime tossed at sea by stormy weather, the Queen, with her suite, was safely landed in Brittany, and thence conducted by easy journeys to the French court.\*

1550.

Treaty of  
peace, includ-  
ing England,  
France, and  
Scotland.

The Earl of Warwick, with his accomplices, having driven out Somerset from his great offices and power, and shared them with his party, was, for his own security, desirous of peace. These circumstances brought on a negotiation, which issued in a treaty of peace between France and England, concluded at Boulogne, 24th of March.† In this treaty, the Queen and kingdom of Scotland were included, as confederates of France, and the articles of the treaty were sent without delay to Scotland. The Master of Erskine was dispatched to England by the Scottish Regency, to signify their acceptance of the articles, and demand their ratification under the Great Seal of England, which was granted.‡ In consequence of this treaty, peace was proclaimed at Edinburgh in the beginning of April, and the French troops were transported back to their own country. M. de Thermes, and some other French officers, remained behind for some months, visiting different places in Scotland. In the month of September, the famous *Leon Strozzi* returned to Leith with some French ships, in which the Queen-Dowager embarked,|| and, accompanied by the said French gentlemen, and several of the Scotch nobility and gentry, sailed for France; landed at Dieppe in Normandy, about

Queen-Dowa-  
ger sails to  
France.

\* Keith, p. 56. Buch. lib. xv. p. 300.


‡ Redpath.

† *Fœdera Angliæ.*

|| Keith, book i. p. 56-57.

the middle of October ; joined the King of France at Rouen, where, after kind reception and splendid entertainment, she went to Paris, and thence to Chartres, where the court resided during the rest of the winter. There the Queen-Dowager opened her mind to the French King upon the business which had brought her to France, namely, to solicit his Majesty that he would be pleased to use his interest to procure for her the regency of the kingdom of Scotland, and the administration of its public affairs. The King did not dislike the project, and promised his aid in its accomplishment, provided that the Earl of Arran would voluntarily demit : and, by her advice, he called Robert Carnegie of Kinnaird, one of the Regent's council ; David Panter, Bishop of Ross, ambassador from Scotland ; and Gavin Hamilton, commendator of Kilwinning, all of them firm friends of the Earl of Arran. To these the King signified, that it would be agreeable to him that the present Regent would demit the government of Scotland in favour of the Queen-Dowager ; that, if Arran were so disposed, his interest should not suffer ; that the King would confirm him in his title of Duke of Chatelherault ; that he had already made his son captain of all the Scottish soldiers in France, and had bestowed marks of his royal favour upon his other sons and relations. On this errand, first Robert Carnegie, and, a few days after, the Bishop of Ross, were despatched. The Bishop so managed his commission, that the Regent, though with some difficulty and reluctance, consented to the proposals ; for which service the

A. C. 1580.



Courts the  
Regency.

A. C. 1550.



King of France rewarded the Bishop with an abbey in Poictou.\*

1551.

The Queen-Dowager having promoted the attainment of what she was ambitious, left France in the end of October, with a view to pass through England, and visit the court of Edward in her way to Scotland. She landed at Portsmouth on the second of November, and on the fourth, accompanied by Lady Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox, and the Duchesses of Suffolk, Richmond, and Northumberland, visited the palace of Whitehall, where she was courteously received, and splendidly entertained by King Edward. The young monarch profited by the occasion to renew his suit for her daughter. The Queen had sufficient address to throw the blame of the breach of treaty, and of the intended match between his Majesty and her daughter, upon the Lord Protector of England, and his rough manner of courtship by an armed force. A lady's favour, she said, ought to be won by refined address, and fair promises, rather than by violence; that she was sorry that the business had come so near to an issue contrary to what he had desired; but that still she would use her endeavours with the French King in behalf of his Majesty of England. On the 6th of November, the Queen left London, and returned to Edinburgh, where she was kindly welcomed by the Regent and others of the nobility; but much time and negotiation were consumed before the change of regency was effected:

\* Keth, p. 57.

so difficult it is to part with power, and especially to relinquish supreme command.

A. C. 155

About this time, one Adam Wallace, accused of propagating the new doctrines, was, in the presence of the Earl of Argyle, High Justiciary of the realm, and the Earls of Huntly and Glencairn, in the Blackfriars Church, Edinburgh, found guilty, and suffered on the Castle-hill there.

On the 26th of January, a provincial synod of the clergy was held in Edinburgh, where it was resolved that a catechism in the mother tongue should be published; and accordingly, Archbishop Hamilton composed and edited a work of this kind, still extant. Bishop Keith calls it “a judicious  
“commentary upon the commands, belief, Lord’s  
“prayer, magnificat, and the ave-maria, in which  
“the author shews both his wisdom and modera-  
“tion;.....that no divine at this day needs be  
“ashamed of such a work; and that, were there  
“no other specimen, it shews that the clergy in  
“those days were not such dunces as some people  
“would make us apprehend.” \*

On the 1st of July,† a commission was granted to Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig, and Richard Maitland of Lethington, to meet commissioners from England, for making a division of some debateable ground on the borders, where disorderly persons used to assemble, as in a kind of refuge, and thence to commit depredations on either side. The partition made was ratified on the 9th of November following.

1552.

\* Keith, p. 63.

† Ibid. p. 58.

A. C. 1552.

During the summer of 1552, and the following autumn and winter,\* the Queen-Dowager accompanied the Regent in a progress through the northern, western, and southern counties of Scotland, and justiciary courts were held in the principal towns through which they passed. It was observed that most of the culprits were discharged upon paying a fine, which being attributed to the avarice of the Regent, lessened his popularity. The Queen-Dowager, deeming that the Regent's declining esteem might, by inverse proportion, exalt her own, strove by every means to insinuate herself into the good graces of the nobility and gentry,† and especially by an affected complaisance courted the favour of those who, from conscience or interest, leaned towards the new doctrines.

1553.

On the 6th of July 1553, died Edward VI. of England, and was succeeded by Mary, his eldest sister, who, during her short reign, restored the ancient religion in England, and damped for a little the hopes of the reformers in Scotland.

The Queen-Dowager, after her circuit with the Regent, retired to Stirling, waiting the time when Arran should surrender his charge. She was there joined by the Earls of Athole, Huntly, Argyle, Angus, and Cassillis, by whose advice she appointed a general council of the nobility to meet her there in the ensuing spring. A numerous meeting having assembled, the Dowager claimed the government of the kingdom, by virtue of a power granted her by the Queen her daughter, now near

1554.

\* Buch. lib. xvi. p. 304.

† Robertson, p. 148.

twelve years of age. The Regent, perceiving that all the nobles, except the Archbishop, his natural brother, and his kinsman the Lord Livingston, had deserted him, and inclined to give their suffrages to the Queen, went to Stirling, and solemnly promised to resign the public administration at the ensuing Parliament, to be held at Edinburgh, but on the following conditions, viz.

A. C. 155

1. That he should be legally indemnified for all his intromissions with the public money and royal property.\*

2. That, by act of Parliament, he should be declared next heir to the crown, failing the Queen and issue of her body.

3. That he should be actually invested, by the King of France, in the rights and title of Duke of Chatelherault.†

These articles being read at the meeting of Parliament, as confirmed by the young Queen, with the consent of the King of France, the Duke of Guise, and the Cardinal of Lorraine, her chosen curators, the Estates in Parliament assembled gave also their assent thereto, and ratified and confirmed the same by their subscriptions and seals. The Regent then arose, and publicly gave up the royal crown, sword, and sceptre, the ensigns of government, to Monsieur d'Oysel, the French ambassador, who received them in name of the young

The Regent  
now Duke  
Chatelherault  
resigns the  
Regency to  
the Queen-  
Dowager.

\* Arran, it seems, had made pretty free with the royal treasure and costly furniture, by his own prodigality and his profusion to his friends, and justly apprehended to be called to a severe account, if he continued in office until the Queen became of age.—*Buch.* lib. xvi. p. 304.

† Chatelherault is in the department of Vienne, twenty-two miles N. E. of Poitiers.



A. C. 1554.

Queen, then in France; and by a mandate from her, and consented to by her said curators, which was publicly shewn, delivered the insignia to the Queen-Dowager, who was proclaimed Regent of the Kingdom, on the 12th of April 1554.

The ex-Regent was allowed the command of the Castle of Dumbarton, and Edinburgh Castle was delivered to the keeping of Lord Erskine.

The Queen-Regent's popularity was hurt by the following incidents:—1. The preferment of a greater number of Frenchmen, than was agreeable to the native subjects.

2. A proposal of levying a tax upon the estates of the subjects, for raising a fund to pay a standing army of mercenary soldiers, that so the nobility and gentry might remain quiet at home, except upon extraordinary emergencies.

3. A war having been rekindled between France and Spain, in the beginning of the year 1557, Mary Queen of England was preparing to send forces into Flanders, to assist her husband Philip. The Queen-Regent of Scotland, solicited by the King of France, and naturally inclined to favour the French interest, convened the nobles at the monastery of Newbottle in Mid-Lothian, and there requested them to concur in an immediate declaration of war against England.

The first grievance could not be immediately remedied,\* but the proposal of a mercenary army was secretly resented by the nobility, and openly opposed by three hundred barons, who delegated

\* Keith, p. 70, &c. Buch. lib. xvi. p. 308. Redpath, p. 587.

She proposes a tax for a standing army, but is opposed.

two of their number, Sir James Sandilands of Calder, and John Wemyss of that ilk, to expostulate with the Queen, and to remonstrate upon the novelty and ignominy of this measure. Their ancestors (they said) had not only defended themselves and their estates against the English, when these were more powerful than at present, but had also made successful inroads upon England; that they themselves had not so far degenerated, as to recoil from venturing their lives and fortunes for the good of their country, when required; that they were even obliged, by the tenure of their lands from the crown, to serve personally in the wars, and not to commit the defence of their country to any other persons whomsoever; that no innovation in a matter of such high importance ought to be admitted, while their Sovereign was under age. They likewise represented, that mercenary soldiers, who had nothing to lose, would never fight so heartily and courageously, as those whose lives, families, and estates, were at stake. Finally, that by this new scheme, the nobility and gentry would lose their valour, and become so pusillanimous and enervated, that they would be an easy prey to the first invaders. The Queen wisely relinquished the prosecution of the plan, and frankly owned, that the advisers of the design (though no obscure persons) had given counsel dangerous to the commonwealth.

As to the declaration of war against England, the nobility, perceiving the drift of the project, modestly declined giving their suffrages in its favour, until they should more maturely consider the matter.

A. C. 165

The noble  
do not reli  
a war with  
England.

A. C. 1554.

The Queen-Regent, however, by advice of her French ministers, ordered Monsieur d'Oysel to build a fort at Eyemouth, near Berwick, deeming that this measure would incense the English, and kindle a war. The event answered the expectation. The English commissioners, who had arrived at Carlisle to meet others from Scotland, in order to adjust and settle some remaining controversies about the borders, were instantly recalled, and a herald was sent to denounce war against the Queen of England ; while a proclamation, by consent of the nobility, was emitted, for a general rendezvous at Edinburgh. The Earl of Huntly had already made two or three prosperous incursions into the English frontiers without much resistance ; and, in the month of October, a considerable army advanced to Kelso, under the command of the Earl of Arran ; but as Monsieur d'Oysel, of his own motion, had crossed the Tweed with the French troops and ordnance, the Scottish nobility, offended at that precipitation, resolved in council not to invade England, but only to remain on their own borders, so long as the army could be maintained. The Queen-Regent, disappointed by this measure, gave orders for disbanding the army, leaving only the French soldiers, with a few of her own forces, at Eyemouth.

The new  
preachers flee  
from England  
to Scotland.

Many of the audacious novelists, who found England, in the reign of Mary, a dangerous climate, fled for safety to the indulgent toleration of the Regent of Scotland, and solaced their disappointment, and gratified their hostility against the ancient religion, by additional efforts of frantic

zeal.\* Among these, William Harlaw, a native of Scotland, distinguished himself by his ardour in diffusing the new light. But what, above all, promoted the spread of the new doctrines, was the arrival of John Knox, in the end of harvest 1555. That apostate priest, as already observed, having thrown off his obedience to the Catholic Church, and disclaimed the ordination he had received from her, associated himself with the murderers of Cardinal Beaton, and had shared their banishment; but having recovered his liberty in the year 1550, at the request of the Queen-Dowager of Scotland, strolled for some time as an itinerant preacher upon the English borders, and now returned to Scotland with whetted rage, and belched out his collected bile, in the most scurrilous and indecent language, against the doctrines and institutions of that Church which, with honour and glory throughout the world, had subsisted for fifteen hundred years. Her worship, he said, was rank idolatry, at which no person ought to assist; and her laws a slavery, to which no man of spirit could submit. It is thus that *they promise liberty* to others, who *themselves are the slaves of corruption*. Yet the multitude, when taken by the bait of promised liberty, often, at the bare mention of that name, blindly follow an artful leader to the greatest extravagancies, and to their own and their country's ruin.

Knox was cited before the ecclesiastical judicatory in Edinburgh, on the 15th of May 1556;

A. C. 1555.

1555.  
Knox, the  
apostle, ar-  
rives.

Rages against  
the old reli-  
gion.

1556.

Knox is ci-  
ted before the  
ecclesiastical  
court.

\* Keith, p. 64.

A. C. 1556.

The diet is  
deserted.

Accepts of an  
invitation to  
Geneva.

but from some informality in the summons, or rather from an apprehension of a mob, the diet was deserted.

Soon after, Knox was requested by an English congregation at Geneva to repair thither, and be their pastor. He accepted the invitation, and set out for Geneva, July 1556.\* He says, that when he was gone, he was again cited by the clergy; and upon his non-appearance, he was condemned as a heretic, and burnt in effigy at the Cross of Edinburgh. A copy of his sentence, transmitted to him, produced the "*Appellation of John Knox from the cruel and unjust sentence pronounced against him by the false bishops and clergy of Scotland.*" &c.†

1557.

The new  
preachers ex-  
cite the minds  
of the people.

The following year, in Edinburgh and Leith, the flames of novelty were fanned by the said William Harlaw, and John Willocks, a renegade Franciscan friar from the town of Ayr. Paul Methven, a baker, enlightened the inhabitants of Dundee; other itinerants traversed Angus and Mearns. John Douglas, formerly a Carmelite friar, doffed his frock, and became chaplain to the Earl of Argyll. Several other gentlemen of the cowl, tired of their cloisters and their breviaries, engaged in the new crusade, and, in the rhetoric of the day, declaimed against the corruptions of the Church of Rome.

The Queen,  
too late, wish-  
es to check  
them.

The bishops, perceiving the minds of the people set agog, meetings and conventions forming, counselled the Queen-Regent to arraign the preachers

\* Knox Hist. p. 114.

† Ibid. p. 493. &c.

before her council, for raising mutinies, and convening together the lieges without authority. But the time was gone by : The Queen had too long winked at their enterprises ; the time of suppression had been neglected ; the preachers, with the mob at their back, felt their strength, and their boldness and rebellion grew with their power. The nobility and gentry, who had no God but gain, encouraged the spreading itch, that they might reap the harvest of spoil which innovation foreboded ; and Knox was invited back from Geneva, to stimulate the troops, and secure the victory.

Knox received with joy the recall from his friends in Scotland ; and being farther encouraged by the friendly advice of his master, Calvin, bade farewell to his weeping flock at Geneva, and began his journey homeward. But arriving at Dieppe in the end of October, to his great sorrow and disappointment, he found letters of another tendency, dissuading the continuance of his journey, and informing him, that fortune seemed to lower on the good enterprise ; that many of the favourers of the Reformation were vacillating ; some were ashamed of the undertaking, and, if questioned, were ready to deny that they ever consented to any such purpose. But Knox was not to be intimidated or deterred by such discouragement. He immediately wrote to his faint-hearted brethren a vehement letter, in his style of hypocritical cant, replete with false applications of scripture, with sentiments of sedition and insubordination to all lawful jurisdiction, temporal and spiritual ; and, finally, asserted that reformation of religion, and of public enormi-

A. C. 155

Knox is invited back, but receives contrary advice at Dieppe.

Sends a flaming letter.

A. C. 1557.



The novel-  
ists assume  
and give new  
titles.

ties, appertained to more than the clergy and chief rulers *called* kings.

This *pious* letter, dated Dieppe, 27th October 1557, wonderfully aroused the courage of the desponding innovators. They instantly assumed the title of the *Congregation of Christ*: arrogated to themselves the authority of giving laws and religion to the whole nation, and to the whole world, if they could; declared themselves enemies to the established and ancient religion of Scotland and of Christendom, which they dignified with the appellation of the *Congregation of Satan*, a mass of *idolatry, superstition, and abomination*, and which they promised, before God, to overturn at the hazard of their lives and fortunes. The bond is worthy of being recorded, as a fair specimen of the cant of the time.

Their bond  
of union—1st  
Covenant.

“ We, perceiving how Sathan, in his members  
“ the Antichrists of our time, cruelly doth rage,  
“ seeking to overthrow and to destroy the Gospel of  
“ Christ and his congregation, ought, according to  
“ our bounden duty, to strive in our Master’s cause,  
“ even unto the death, being certain of the victory  
“ in him. The which our duty being well consi-  
“ dered, we do promise, before the majesty of God  
“ and his congregation, that we (by his grace)  
“ shall, with all diligence, continually apply our  
“ whole power, substance, and our very lives, to  
“ maintain, set forward, and establish the most  
“ blessed work of God and his congregation; and  
“ shall labour, at our possibility, to have faithful  
“ ministers, truly and purely to minister Christ’s  
“ gospel and sacraments to his people. We shall

“ maintain them, nourish them, and defend them, A. C. 1557.  
 “ the whole congregation of Christ, and every {  
 “ member thereof, at our whole powers and waging  
 “ of our lives, against Sathan, and *all wicked power*  
 “ *that doth intend tyranny or trouble against the*  
 “ *foresaid congregation.* Unto the which holy  
 “ word and congregation, we do joyne us, and so  
 “ do forsake and renounce the congregation of Sa-  
 “ than, with all the superstitious abomination and  
 “ idolatry thereof; and moreover shall declare our-  
 “ selves manifestly enemies thereto, by this our  
 “ faithful promise before God, testified to his con-  
 “ gregation by our subscription at these presents.  
 “ At Edinburgh, the 3d day of December 1557  
 “ years. God called to witness.”\* (Signed) A. Earl  
 of Argyle, Glencairne, Morton, Archibald Lord of  
 Lorne, and John Erskine of Dun, &c. The style  
 of this bond, called the First Covenant, is truly  
 Cromwellian.

Immediately after, the following articles were resolved on :

1. It is thought expedient, advised, and ordained, that in all parishes of this realm, the common prayer be read weekly on Sunday and other festival days, publicly in the parish churches, with the lessons of the Old and New Testament, conform to the order of the book of common prayers; and, if the curates of the parishes be qualified, to cause them to read the same; and if they be not, or if they refuse, that the most qualified in the parish use and read the same.

\* Keith, book i. p. 66. Knox, p. 123, 124.



A. C. 1558.



2. It is thought necessary, that doctrine, preaching, and interpretation of Scriptures, be had and privately used in quiet houses, without great conventions of the people thereto ; while afterward, that God move the Prince to grant public preaching by faithful and true ministers.

These resolutions were put in execution wherever their authors had power or interest. The Earl of Argyle, especially, was so zealous in the cause, as to make his own house a conventicle of the proselytes, who came to hear the inspired eloquence of the renegade Carmelite Douglas. The established clergy, we are told, complained bitterly of these novelties to the Queen-Regent ; but the Queen was unable to restrain a party which her ambition and her imprudence had allowed to acquire strength. Besides, she easily perceived that it would be highly impolitical and unsafe to stir up enemies at this critical conjuncture, when matters were to be finally adjusted for the marriage of her daughter with the Dauphin of France.

1558.

The Archbishop of St. Andrews writes to the Earl of Argyle ;

On the 25th of March 1558, the Archbishop of St. Andrews wrote a conciliatory and artful letter to the Earl of Argyle, with a view, if possible, to detach his lordship from the new-formed congregation. He particularly suggested the propriety of dismissing the fanatic chaplain Douglas ; that if his lordship were sincerely desirous of wholesome instruction, he himself would provide his lordship with a learned and orthodox theologian for that purpose ; that he (the Archbishop) had given great offence, both to the Queen-Regent and other persons of rank, by being remiss in his of-

lices of legate and primate, in not checking those bold and illegal conventions, which, from deference to his lordship's person and family, he had hitherto refrained from punishing, but which, for the future, he should be obliged to inspect more narrowly, and bring the delinquents to condign punishment; that he hoped the Earl would speedily apply the remedy, which would secure both his lordship and himself from harm or dishonour; that the bearer, Sir David Hamilton, would explain matters fully by word of mouth. The Earl answered the letter respectfully, but in such a manner as plainly shewed that he neither meant to comply with the Archbishop's solicitations, nor stood in awe of his threats.

A. C. 1557.

but to no purpose.

The clergy about this time, no less foolishly than inhumanely, caused to be arrested and examined at St. Andrews one Walter Mill, who in his younger years had been in Germany, and probably had there imbibed some of the new opinions. He had, however, received orders in the Catholic church, and had been installed priest in the church of Lunan, in Angus; but, upon an accusation of heresy, in the time of Cardinal Beaton, had left his charge, and absconded. He had now attained his eighty-second year, and could have done little more mischief. He was, nevertheless, according to the sanguinary and senseless spirit which then prevailed among all sects, condemned and burnt at the stake. We shall afterwards see that the adverse party were no more sparing of blood, nor discriminating in their victims.

Foolish and cruel punishment of Walter Mill.

On the 1st of September, being the feast of St.

**A. C. 1558.**  
**Procession of  
St. Giles.**

Giles, the tutelar saint of one of the principal churches in Edinburgh, some of the citizens were, as usual, preparing to go in procession, bearing a statue of the saint; but some person or persons, either disapproving of that devotion, or apprehending some tumult from the phrenzy of the disciples of the new preachers, had removed out of the way the statue which used to be carried. This incident caused some embarrassment and delay. A smaller statue, however, was soon procured from the Grey Friars; and the procession, honoured by the attendance of the Queen-Regent, proceeded for some time without molestation: but as soon as the Queen withdrew to the lodgings where she was to dine, the fanatical mob assembled, and plucking the statue from the shoulder of the bearer, broke it in pieces, and threw it down in the dirt, which of course caused some confusion, noise, and altercation between the contending parties, but no serious accident occurred.\*

That kind of devotion, which at all times might have been easily dispensed with, was, it would seem, imprudently attempted, amidst the commotion of minds, and collision of sentiments then existing. Yet, I think, I may confidently appeal to the sentence of the calm philosopher, or to the decision of any unprejudiced man of common sense, whether the respect thus paid to the memory of a harmless and pious anchoret, or the monument and statue lately erected to the memory of a noto-

\* Bishop Keith shews, from the register of the council of Edinburgh, that this riot happened in the year 1556.—Appendix, p. 84.

rious rebel, and seditious incendiary, be the more laudable or the more impious.

A. C. 1558.

During the summer of this year, persons of distinguished zeal travelled through all parts of the kingdom, instigating the giddy multitude, and soliciting subscriptions from them to join in rooting out the religion planted by the old apostles, and in planting a more promising germ from the nursery of the new apostles. They said, that the new system proposed would not tie men down to believe old-fashioned tenets, which crippled men's minds, or to practise what restrained and thwarted the most darling inclinations and the sweetest gratifications of the senses ; that fasting, confession, and every sort of austerity, were eliminated from this new law of liberty ; that every person *might believe what he pleased, and profess what he believed*, provided always that they heartily condemned the old religion ; that the church-lands would be portioned out among the people, and in throwing down the old idolatrous nests, much spoil might be expected ; that the people had little to lose, and high prospects of gain ; that it were pity they should be longer oppressed by a party, which they might easily as far surpass in strength as their cause was superior in justice. By such arguments, and by all the inducements that could flatter the passions, couched in a high strain of hypocritical cant, those pioneers of the pretended reformation prepared the way for its success.

The preachers overrun the country, and stir up the people to madness and frenzy.

It is truly laughable to hear Dr. Robertson ascribe the progress of the Reformation in Scotland to an acquaintance with the Greek and Roman

Ridiculous observations of Dr. Robertson.

A. C. 1558.

*authors.\** It is well known that the rabble which constituted the strength of the reforming army, and their almost equally ignorant leaders among the nobility, had little acquaintance with letters of any kind. Even Knox's boisterous eloquence borrowed its chiefest pathos and colouring from its elegant ribaldry against the whore of Babylon, and his malignant raillery against the Catholic clergy.

Dr. Robertson observes, "*that the genius of popery is extremely favourable to the power of princes.*"† So were the tenets of the apostles Peter and Paul. It is equally clear, that the genius of the reformers was quite the reverse.

The Doctor's assertion, *that reformation never proceeds from the Catholic clergy, but is always forced upon them by some foreign hand,*‡ clearly shews that he was totally ignorant of what has been enacted in general, national, and provincial councils, especially in the Council of Trent; in all of which, abuses have been most zealously corrected. (*Vide Conc. Trid. de Reformatione.*) A little attention to what I shewed, in the reign of Malcolm and Margaret, would abundantly prove the falsehood of the Doctor's remark. It is, however, to be observed, that it belongs to the chief pastors, successors of the apostles, to judge and decide upon controversies of faith, and not to the laity, or upstart teachers. To the apostles and their lawful successors, Jesus Christ entrusted the deposit of his doctrine, and promised to be with them to the end of the world.

\* Rob. Hist. of Scotland, vol. i. p. 196.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid. p. 180.

The Queen-Regent was now intent upon the marriage of her daughter.\* She had laid before the Parliament, on the 14th of December foregoing, a letter from the King of France, requesting that persons of suitable rank might be sent to France, to witness the marriage of their young Queen with the Dauphin, and to transact the business necessary on that occasion. A commission was then given for that effect to James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow; David Panter, Bishop of Ross, principal Secretary of State; Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney, President of the Session; George Leslie, Earl of Rothes, a privy counsellor; Gilbert Kennedy, Earl of Cassillis, Lord High-Treasurer; James Lord Fleming, Lord High-Chamberlain; George Lord Seaton; James Stewart, Prior of St. Andrews, natural brother to the Queen; and John Erskine of Dun. The Queen-Regent appointed as her proxy, her own mother, the Duchess-Dowager of Guise. The young Queen named the above commissioners, together with Antonia de Bourbon, present Duchess of Guise, as her procurators. The instructions of the commissioners were, 1. To obtain from their Sovereign, before her marriage, by and with advice of her curators, and again after her marriage, with advice of the King of France and the Dauphin her husband, a ratification of the act of Parliament of the 7th of July 1548, for sending her Majesty to France. 2. To obtain from the King of France a ratification of his former promises to

A. C. 1558.

Preparations  
for the mar-  
riage of  
Queen Mary  
with the Dau-  
phin.

\* Keith, p. 72, &c.

A. C. 1558.



the Duke of Chatelherault for aiding and supporting him in his succession to the crown of Scotland, in case the Queen should die without children, and that the same should be confirmed by her Majesty, and her husband the Dauphin; as also a full discharge to the Duke for all intromissions, &c. during his government. 3. To obtain from the Queen and Dauphin a solemn obligation to observe and maintain the liberties, privileges, and laws of Scotland, whole and entire, as in the days of her royal progenitors, kings of Scotland.

With these powers, the ambassadors sailed from Leith, in the month of February 1558; and after some stormy weather, arrived at Boulogne, and proceeded to the French court, in the month of March, and readily obtained a full ratification of the foregoing demands.

Duplicity of  
the French  
court.

Yet the French court is accused (and I am afraid with truth), of very perfidious double dealing; for, notwithstanding their confirming and ratifying the above stipulations with solemn declarations, they caused the young Queen to subscribe the three following papers. By the first, she makes over the kingdom of Scotland in free gift to the King of France, to be enjoyed by him and his heirs, should she die without issue. And, lest the King might be disappointed in said deed, she is made to assign to the King of France the possession of the kingdom of Scotland (if she should die childless), in mortgage for a million of Louis-d'ors, or any greater sum that he shall be found to have expended on the young Queen's entertainment and education, during her abode in France.

And a third, by which the Queen declares, that although, in compliance with the desire of her Parliament, she shall sign a declaration, ratifying the lineal succession of her crown, yet she protests that the genuine sense of her mind is only contained in these three preceding papers.

A. C. 155

The principal articles of the contract, dated the 19th of April 1558, were, 1. The Queen's jointure, in case the Dauphin shall die King of France, is 60,000 livres, or greater, if such have ever been given to a Queen of France. In case her husband shall die only Dauphin, 30,000.\*

2. The eldest son of the marriage to be King of France and Scotland. In case there be no sons, the eldest daughter to be Queen of Scotland only, and to be given in marriage, by the advice of the King of France and the Estates of Scotland; and, besides her inheritance of this kingdom, to have, as a daughter of France, 400,000 crowns in portion; and each younger daughter, 300,000 crowns.

Articles of contract.

3. After the death of her husband, Queen Mary to be at liberty either to remain in France, or to return into Scotland, at her pleasure, and to carry along with her such things as belong to a Queen of France, and to have her jointure duly paid, wheresoever she may choose to abide.

4. The commissioners from Scotland, in name of the Estates of their country, to take an oath of fidelity to the Dauphin, presently after the marriage, obligatory during the subsistence of the marriage only.

\* Keith, p. 74. Buch. lib. xvi. p. 309.



A. C. 1558.

5. The Dauphin shall bear the name and title of King of Scotland, and have his arms quartered with those of Scotland; and when he comes to be King of France, he shall bear the titles and arms of the two kingdoms united under one crown. To these articles, all parties concerned promised and swore.

Solemnization  
of the mar-  
riage.

The marriage betwixt Francis, the Dauphin of France, and Mary Queen of Scotland, was solemnized in the cathedral church of *Notre Dame*, in Paris, on the 24th of April 1558,\* by the Cardinal of Bourbon, Archbishop of Rouen. Upon the 28th of that month, the commissioners from Scotland took an oath of allegiance to the Dauphin and the Queen, in the name of the Estates of Scotland

It is said, the commissioners were urged to promise, that they would recommend to the Scottish Parliament, that the crown-matrimonial, and title of King of Scotland, should be sent to the Dauphin, and that they themselves would give their suffrages to that effect.† But, upon their replying that such concession exceeded their limited instructions, they were dismissed. When they reached Dieppe, on their return home, three of their number died there, viz. the Bishop of Orkney on the 6th of September, the Earl of Rothes on the 8th, and the Earl of Cassillis on the 14th of the same month.‡ The Lord Fleming also sickened there, and having returned to Paris, died on the 18th of December following. These deaths crowding

Four of the  
commissioners die  
suddenly.

\* Keith, p. 74.

† Buch. lib. xvi. p. 309.

‡ Lady.

on each other, suggested to many a suspicion of poison. The other four commissioners returned safe to Scotland ; and in a Parliament (consisting of seven Bishops, sixteen Abbots, thirteen Earls, fifteen Lords, two Masters, ten for the boroughs, in all 63), which was held at Edinburgh, the 29th of November, exhibited their papers ; which being read, an act was passed, that the commissioners had faithfully and honestly discharged the office and trust reposed in them.

A. C. 1558.

An act also was passed, that a commission should be made out, in the names of all the Estates, to transmit to the Dauphin the crown-matrimonial ; which, however, was never sent.

Crown-matrimonial granted, but never sent.

A long protestation was entered by the Duke of Chatelherault, or his son the Earl of Arran, that this complaisance of the Parliament or Estates should not prejudice the right of those who, failing heirs of the Queen's body, had a legal claim to the succession to the crown.

Mary, Queen of England, died on the 17th day of November this year ; and although England seemed pretty unanimous in support of Elizabeth, who was immediately placed on the throne, the French court, by an act the most rash and impolitical, declared the Queen of Scots to be also Queen of England ; and, in order to give this recognition a more imposing appearance, the arms of England were engraven and quartered with the arms of Scotland and France, on all the plate and furniture belonging to the Scottish Queen and her husband.

Mary, Queen of England, dies.

Mary, Queen of Scots, is ill-advised to quarter the English arms with those of France and Scotland.

Now, though Mary, by right of blood, had a claim to the English crown, preferable to that of

**A. C. 1558.**

Elizabeth, who was born of an unlawful bed, yet, as the French had no means of placing Mary on the English throne, it was most foolish, by a vain ostentation, to irritate Elizabeth, as in fact it did, to that degree, that she never forgave nor forgot that attempt, but, through the whole course of Mary's unfortunate life, took every method to thwart her, and humble her authority, until the fatal moment in which she glutted her vengeance, and bespattered her own memory, by the innocent blood of her rival.

## CHAPTER II.

**Baldness of the Reformers—Preachers denounced Rebels—Knox instigates the mob to destroy Churches and Monasteries—Second Covenant—Continued sacrilege, rapine, rebellion, and treason—Francis and Mary ascend the French Throne—Third Covenant—Queen-Regent receives aid from France—Queen Elizabeth assists the insurgents with money, a fleet, troops, and reinforcements—Hostilities—Queen-Regent dies—Treaty of Peace—Irregular Parliament—The Nobility keep hold of Church property, in spite of Knox and his brethren—Novel Church Polity—Mary's husband dies—She returns to Scotland.**

THE sticklers for what they called a Reformation, having now, by the means and motives already explained, drawn to their party a considerable junto of the nobility and gentry, together with the greater part of the populace, were resolved to be no longer overawed by a minor party, nor even to content themselves with full liberty to profess their new tenets, and to enjoy the free exercise of their adopted system of religion without molestation; they, moreover, determined entirely to root out and destroy the national religion, which had subsisted in Scotland for more than thirteen centuries. Yet, that they might not seem altogether to condemn all legal authority, they agreed to present their demands to the Queen-Regent and her council, in form of a petition.\* In this petition, they complain grievously of the hardships and persecution which their sect had suffered from the

A. C. 1558.

The reformers grow bolder.

\* Keith, p. 79.

A. C. 1558.



Ecclesiastical Estate, and require that the Christian religion be restored to what they are pleased to call its original purity.

It is not wonderful that, in this semblance of a petition, contradictory assumptions should be found ; or that in one place they humbly acknowledge, that “ they know no other order placed in “ this realme but her Grace (the Queen-Regent), “ and her grave council, set to amend as well the “ disorder ecclesiastical, as the defaults in the tem- “ poral regiment ;” and in another sentence, they boldly affirm, that “ *they themselves are a part of* “ *that power, which God hath established in this* “ *realm.*”

Resolve to rebel, if their petition be not granted.

Several demands of changes, in favour of the new religion, were added to the petition ; and Buchanan informs us,\* that it was the “common opinion, that, in case the Queen-Regent refused to grant their petition, the multitude could not be restrained from an insurrection ; that is, there should certainly be an open rebellion.

The Queen soothes them.

The Queen endeavoured to soothe the congregation by fair words, saying, *all they could lawfully desire should be granted in due season.* Knox says, the Congregation departed from the Queen, fully satisfied with her answer. It appears to me, that the Queen-Regent and her council, together with the bishops and other clergy, seeing the strength which the congregation had now acquired, and the temper of its leaders, ought to have at once made an offer to allow them all freedom to adopt

\* “ Neque multitudo a seditione poterat contineri.”—Lib. x. p. 311.

whatever system of religion they pleased, provided that they would not meddle with the present establishment, nor with those persons who still wished to adhere to the ancient faith ; that they might preach in the open air, or build churches to themselves, maintain the preachers whom they chose to follow, make as many proselytes as chose to join them, but in nowise to interfere with the property of the Church, or to disturb the civil government. Such an offer would have taken away all reasonable complaint for want of free toleration. I am well aware, that such proposals, though perfectly fair, would have been rejected with scorn ; because the principal view of the nobility and gentry was to get possession of the church-lands, and the populace hoped to share in the spoils of churches and religious houses ; for it will afterwards appear, that when the higher classes had obtained their aim, they neglected the preachers, and the people despised them.

But the clergy being still unwilling to make such concessions, and the Queen-Regent, too late, resolving to assist the clergy, and to restore vigour to the royal authority, gave some sharp and unsavoury answers to Alexander Earl of Glencairn, and Sir Hugh Campbell, sheriff of Ayr, who had been sent to her by the congregation, to entreat her not to molest their ministers.

Soon after, the Queen-Regent hearing that one of those ministers had preached publicly in the church of Perth, she commanded Patrick Lord Ruthven, then Provost of that city, to go thither, and suppress those tumults and innovations in re-

A. C. 1559.

The Bishop  
ought to have  
offered liberty  
of conscience

1559.

The Queen  
orders Ruthven  
to suppress tumults

A. C. 1559.



ligion. But Ruthven, being friendly to those innovations, answered, that “ *he should make their bodies and goods subject to her ; but as for their minds and consciences, he had no power over them.*” The Queen was displeased at the answer ; and no wonder, for she gave him no command to rectify their consciences, but to suppress tumults and disorderly meetings, the preacher having probably, with the rabble at his back, seized upon the church, and ascended the pulpit by force.

The Queen next gave orders to James Haliburton, Provost of Dundee, to apprehend Paul Methven, and send him to her ; but the Provost having given private intimation of his orders, Methven absconded, and slipt out of the way.

The mob accompany the preachers.

The Queen, discontented by various acts of disobedience to her orders, cited all the new preachers throughout the kingdom to appear at Stirling on the 10th of May.\* All the proselytes of the new doctrines, of every rank, and especially from Angus and Mearns, would needs accompany their preachers, and be ready, by physical force, to assist them in defence of their doctrine. This motley army, like Munster with his anabaptists, advanced to Perth, whence they deputed Erskine, Laird of Dun, to her Majesty, then at Stirling, to inform her that they had come avowedly to confess their faith, and assist their preachers in their defence.

The Queen disliking club argument and defence, entreated the Laird of Dun, who had great sway

\* I. only mentions only Willocks, Douglas, and Methven.

with the congregation, to persuade the multitude to return home ; that she meant no harm to their ministers ; and, according to some accounts, promised to desert the diet.\* Erskine, to oblige the Queen, wrote to the principal persons assembled at Perth, mentioning the Queen's promise, and the hopes he entertained of her favour. Upon which many of the common people were sent home, but most of the gentlemen, with the ministers, remained at Perth. When the 10th of May arrived, the ministers, according to the citation, were called ; and not answering, were denounced rebels. The Laird of Dun, highly offended with this procedure of the Queen, retired from her court, and declared to the gentlemen at Perth, that he believed the Queen was implacable towards them, and therefore they ought to provide for the worst.

A. C. 1559.

The preachers  
denounced  
rebels.

However faulty the Queen-Regent may have been on this occasion by breach of promise, it is evident, from what we have already related, that the preachers, and all those who joined with them in the foregoing bond, were guilty of treason, and deserved to be denounced as rebels ; nor was that to be wondered at, since novelty of doctrine and

\* By the Scottish law, when persons do not obey a citation given by the Supreme Judges, they are thereupon declared rebels against the King, for disobedience to his Majesty. Buchanan does not say that the Queen promised to desert the diet, but only that she meant no harm to any of the sect : “ *Se interea nihil adversus quemquam illius sectæ molituram,*” p. 313. If, however, the Queen did promise to desert the diet, she did wrong in denouncing the preachers rebels for not appearing. The ridiculous story of Knox, that the multitude was instigated to the first outrages in the church of Perth, by a priest who was preparing to say mass, after the nobility and gentry had gone to dinner, carries falsehood on its forehead. Every body knows mass is not celebrated after dinner-time.



A. C. 1559.

Knox arrives  
in Scotland.

At Perth, in-  
stigates the  
mob to plun-  
der and de-  
stroy churches  
and monas-  
teries.

rebellion are nearly allied. The rights of sovereigns will not long be respected, when the foundation of faith is shaken. The machination was now ready to explode, and the arch-rebel Knox came to Scotland opportunely to set fire to the train. He arrived at Edinburgh on the 2d day of May 1559, and having stayed there only two nights, went straight to Dundee, where several of the ministers, with many of their followers, then were. Knox begged permission to attend them to Perth ; and the request was readily granted by those who knew that no man was fitter for their purpose, at the present juncture, than he who had already asserted their right to give religion and laws to the whole nation. Knox accompanied the mob to Perth ; and on the 11th of May (when the Laird of Dun had just brought thither the news of the denouncement of the ministers, and given his salutary admonition thereon), seized the favourable moment, and preached such a thundering sermon against idolatry, that Buchanan says the minds of his audience were set in a flame. Yet the better sort had not so far forgotten earthly things as to neglect to go to dinner : but the zealous preacher staid in the church, and still so stimulated, in certain *godly men*, as he calls them, *the workings of the Spirit*, such as it was, that they forthwith demolished and pillaged every thing sacred or ornamental in the church. The rabble increased, and proceeded to the monasteries of the Grey and Black Friars, which they soon sacrilegiously pillaged and destroyed. They then invaded the noble and costly edifice of the Car-

thusians (founded by King James I. after his captivity in England, 1429), which they likewise plundered and destroyed, and doubtless felt their avarice no less gratified than their zeal, whatever encomiums Knox may make on the disinterestedness of this *rascally* mob.

A. C. 1559.

The same lawless frenzy, together with the news of the destruction made at Perth, was wafted to Cupar in Fife; and the fire doubtless being fanned by some of the new *apostles*, the same sacrilegious devastation and pillage took place in the parish-church, and most probably also in the religious houses there.\*

Pillage at  
Cupar in  
Fife.

The Queen-Regent, upon hearing of these audacious and criminal insults offered to religion and government, threatened to punish severely the nefarious wickedness. She therefore despatched letters to the Earls of Arran, Argyle, and Athole, desiring them to join her immediately, with their friends and followers. The French soldiers were also called, and she thought to have surprised Perth before the incendiaries could put themselves in a posture of defence; but as a full week expired before the ordnance arrived, the rebellious congregation had reassembled from all quarters, and prepared to defend the town of Perth.

The Queen  
endeavours to  
surprise the  
Congregation.

\* There were, at Cupar in Fife, two religious houses: The one, an abbey of the Cistercian order, founded by Malcolm IV. in 1164, and endowed with considerable revenues. The Hays of Errol, whose burying-place it was, were, next to our Kings, the principal benefactors to this monastery. King James VI., after the Reformation, created a second son of Secretary Elphinston Lord Cupar, 20th December 1607; but he dying without issue in 1609, the honour devolved on Lord Balmerino. The other was a convent of Dominicans, founded by the Macduffs, Earls of Fife, at the foot of the Castle Hill. It was afterwards annexed to St. Monans, also in Fifeshire. Mr. Melville of Balgary's house afterwards took its place.

A. C. 1559.

The leaders  
write to the  
Queen,

Meantime, the leaders of the congregation drew up a letter to the Queen-Regent, replete with insolence, threatenings, appeals to the King of France, to the young Queen and her husband, and the grossest insult to the clergy; but without one word of apology or contrition for their crime, or promise of good behaviour or forbearance for the future.\*

and to the  
French officers ;

They wrote also to Monsieur D'Oysel and other French officers, advising them not, for the sake of gratifying the priests, to use violence against the reformers, and so compel them to take the sword of just defence.

To the rest  
of the nobility ;

Knowing that most of the principal nobility were still with the Queen, they sent a long admonitory letter to them, warning them that the specious authority under which they acted against the *congregation of Jesus Christ* would not excuse them before God. Those new theologians made a learned distinction *between the authority and the persons vested with authority* (a distinction with which St. Peter and St. Paul were unacquainted.) They add, that what they had done at Perth, they had done at God's commandment.

The same divines address those of the Queen's army, who had formerly joined the congregation, *informing them, that as they are already reputed traitors by God, they shall also be excommunicated from their society, and from the participation of the sacraments of the church, which God, by his mighty power, hath erected amongst them, whose ministers*

\* See the letter at full length, in Keith's History, p. 83.

*HAVE THE SAME POWER WHICH JESUS CHRIST granted to his apostles in these words:—“ Whose sins you shall forgive shall be forgiven, and whose sins you shall retain shall be retained.”* A. C. 1559.

Thus they arrogate to themselves (upstarts without a shadow of ordination or mission) a power which they deny to the lawful successors of the apostles.

Finally, they wrote a letter to the Catholic clergy, consisting of such ribaldry, foul language, and abuse, as clearly shewed the spirit by which they were guided and spurred on to their reformation. To my readers, I presume, the address alone will be a sufficient specimen. It is as follows: “ To the generation of antichrist, the pestilent prelates, and their shavelings within Scotland, the Congregation of Christ Jesus within the same sayeth,” &c. and to the clergy.

This kind of expostulation not being of a very conciliatory nature, the Queen's army, consisting both of French and Scottish troops, advanced and formed a camp at Auchterarder, about ten miles from Perth.\* The army of the Congregation marched out of Perth, and lay about a mile distant from that city.

Nevertheless, the Queen sent the Earl of Argyll, the Prior of St. Andrews, and Lord Semple, to Perth, to ask the cause of this convocation of the lieges, and whether it was intended to hold out the town against her, the Regent, and vested with the legal authority. The answer given by

\* Knox, b. xi. p. 159.

A. C. 1547.



Terms pro-  
posed by the  
Congregation.

the Congregation, and by its organ and incendiary Knox, was, that they were armed in defence of their religion; and that, if the Queen would suffer them to proceed in its establishment as they had begun, that is, to raise it on the ruins of the ancient religion of the kingdom, which they thought themselves competent judges to pronounce false and idolatrous; and that if, having destroyed its churches and religious institutions, and disposed of all ecclesiastical property, according to their superior wisdom and piety, and, moreover, strictly prohibited its clergy to teach its doctrines, administer its sacraments, or perform any of its rites; or that her Majesty, or any of the lieges, should profess the wonted creed, conform to the ancient worship, assist at the celebration of what had always been held as most sacred (but was now discovered to be rank idolatry), or receive the sacraments, in conformity to antiquity; if, say they, the Queen shall allow all this to go on undisturbedly, they will be at her command, and the most loyal and obedient subjects of her daughter, their lawful sovereign, and her husband.

The Queen having received the answer, which implied every article I have mentioned, sent a Lyon-herald, with letters, charging all who were not inhabitants of Perth, to leave that town, under pain of high treason. Those letters were proclaimed in Perth on Sunday the 28th of May.

The audacity and stubbornness of the Congregation were greatly heightened by the accession of the Earl of Glencairn, who joined the standard of rebellion with 1200 horse and 1300 foot.

Glencairn  
joins them.

The Queen, however, despatched a second time the Earl of Argyle, the Prior of St. Andrews, with Gavin Hamilton, Abbot of Kilwinning, to make another essay of agreement with the insurgents; but these were too much elated by their increased strength, to listen to reasonable terms. They even bitterly reproached the Earl and Prior with unsteadiness in the good cause, as they had always been looked on as favourers of the new doctrines. The accusation might have been spared: both the Earl and the Prior had powerful motives to incline them towards the projected innovations. The Queen had little reason to trust such mediating peace-makers. A kind of agreement, however, was patched up on Monday, the 29th of May, on the following terms:

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1. That both armies should be disbanded, and the town left open to the Queen.

A sort of agreement.

2. That none of the inhabitants should be molested on account of the late alterations in religion.

3. That no Frenchman should enter the town, nor come within three miles of it; and that, when the Queen retired, no French garrison should be left in the town.

4. That all other controversies be referred to the next Parliament.\*

The *pacific* Knox takes credit to himself and his fellow-preachers, that they, with some difficulty, persuaded the multitude to consent to these articles; but modestly acknowledges, that he predicted, in his sermon, that no part of this agree-

\* Keith, p. 49.

A. C. 1559.

ment would be longer kept by the Queen, than till she and her Frenchmen got the upperhand.

That gentle caution produced the intended effect, and caused the motley multitude, before its separation, to form a new covenant or bond of association, in terms of open and downright rebellion against the civil authority, to all intents and purposes. That the reader may judge, I shall transcribe the document.

Second Cove-  
nant.

“ At Perth, the last day of May, the year of  
 “ God 1559 years, The Congregations of the west  
 “ country, with the Congregations of Fife, Perth,  
 “ Dundee, Angus, Mearns, and Montrose, being  
 “ convened in the town of Perth, in the name of  
 “ Jesus Christ,\* for forth-setting of his glory, un-  
 “ derstanding nothing more necessary for the same  
 “ than to keep a constant amity, unity, and fel-  
 “ lowship together, according as they are com-  
 “ manded by God, are confederat and become  
 “ bounden and oblist, in the presence of God, to  
 “ concur and assist together, in doing all things  
 “ required of God in his Scripture, that may be to  
 “ his glory ; and, at their whole powers, to destroy  
 “ and away put all things that doth dishonour to  
 “ his name ; so that God may be trewly and pure-  
 “ ly worshipped. And in case that any trouble  
 “ be intended against the said congregations, or  
 “ any part or member thereof, the whole congre-  
 “ gation shall concur, assist, and conven together,  
 “ to the defence of the same congregation or per-  
 “ son troubled ; and shall not spare labours, goods,

\* This sacred name is often assumed to sanction the worst of deeds.

“ substance, bodies, and lives, in maintaining the A. C. 1559.  
 “ liberty of the whole congregation, and every  
 “ member thereof, against *whatsoever power* that  
 “ shall intend the said trouble, for cause of reli-  
 “ gion,\* *or any other cause depending thereupon,*  
 “ or lay to their charge under pretence thereof,  
 “ *although it happen to be coloured with any*  
 “ *other outward cause.* In witnessing and tes-  
 “ timony of the which, the whole congregations  
 “ aforesaid have ordained and appointed the noble-  
 “ men and persons underwritten to subscribe thir  
 “ presents.” (Signed) “ Arch. Argyle, James  
 “ Stewart, Glencarne, R. Lord Boyd, Ochiltree,  
 “ Matthew Campbell of Tarmaganner.”

Immediately after the departure of this congre-  
 gation of congregations, the Queen entered the city The Queen  
enters Perth.  
 of Perth. A few French soldiers or servants hap-  
 pened to be in her retinue, one of whom, passing  
 by the house of Patrick Murray, a violent inno-  
 vator, discharged a musket, which unfortunately  
 shot a young boy (the son of the said Patrick  
 Murray), who, with the rest of the family, was  
 leaning on a balcony to see the procession of the  
 Queen's entry. The dead corpse was exposed be-  
 fore the Queen's lodging; and when she was told  
 of what had happened, she is said to have replied,  
 “ That the chance was to be lamented, and so  
 “ much the rather, that it had lighted on the son  
 “ instead of the father; but that she could not  
 “ help such casualties.”

\* It became an easy matter for those self-constituted legislators, to explain  
 every act proceeding from the Government as injurious to their religion.  
 What could be a more manifest conspiracy against any established govern-  
 ment ?



A. C. 1559.

Some of the citizens, it seems, were banished, others fined ; the present magistrates were turned off, and others appointed in their places. After which, her Majesty, returning to Stirling, left in the town four companies of Scottish soldiers for a garrison, with orders to allow no other worship there, but that of the Catholic Church.

Queen accused  
of breaking  
the articles.

The Queen is accused of having broken all the articles of capitulation by these proceedings ; yet, I imagine, the accusation is very unfair ; for the inhabitants were not molested for altering their faith, but for lawless tumult, and for attacking and pillaging property not their own, but appropriated to the service of God. Ruthven, their provost, had stubbornly refused to obey the orders of the Queen-Regent, when she bade him repress tumults in the city, and hinder straggling and unauthorised preachers to intrude themselves into the established churches, and to convene a disorderly rabble. He therefore justly deserved to be discharged ; and if the inferior magistrates had joined in his delinquency, they deserved to share his disgrace. Finally, although the French King might have contributed to the payment of the soldiers who were left in garrison at Perth, yet, as they were Scotchmen, and serving in their own country, they could not justly be deemed French soldiers. Besides, whoever will attend to the seditious covenant, made after the capitulation, will not be surprised if the Queen thought the agreement already broken by that rebellious combination.

The Earl of Argyle and the Prior, commonly called Lord James, withdrew to the city of St. An-

draws, and not only refused the Queen's order to return to her at Perth, but also wrote to the neighbouring nobility and gentry of their faction, to join them at St. Andrews, on the 4th of June, in order to concert measures for what they called their mutual defence, *i. e.* to hinder the Queen from taking possession of the towns of Cupar and St. Andrews, which she certainly had a legal and just title to occupy. But with them nothing was right, but the *right to do wrong*.

A. C. 1550.



The partisans met at St. Andrews, and, amongst others, their hero, Knox, who, on the 9th of that month, conducted his noble lords and docile plebeians to Crail, a sea-port town, about six miles from St. Andrews. There, by a sermon in his usual style, he put his audience in mind of his prediction, that the Queen would break her promises ; and now (where there was no shadow of danger) exhorted them to brace their minds, so as to be prepared to die like men, or live as victors. By this pious harangue, their courage was so exalted, that they immediately proceeded to the pulling down of the altars and pictures. Next day he preached at Anstruther, another fishing town, three miles farther south, where the like havoc followed a similar sermon. Yet all was done according to the mild spirit of the reformers, *with more anger than avarice*, we are told.

Knox preaches the mob to sacrilege at Crail.

The Archbishop of St. Andrews, learning that Knox, on the morrow, being Sunday the 11th of June, intended to invade his cathedral, and seize his pulpit, came thither on the Saturday before, with a hundred armed men, that he might prevent

A. C. 1559.



St. Andrews.

the intrusion ; and the Lords, apprehensive of serious consequences, counselled Knox to restrain his zeal on that occasion. But Knox was no man of straw, nor to be so easily intimidated. He told his friends, that to postpone preaching on that day was contrary to the dictates of his conscience, recalling, as he did, that in that town and church “ God first began to call him to the dignity of a “ preacher ; from which, though he had been reft “ by the tyranny of France, and the procurement “ of the Bishops, yet he had often foretold, that “ his assured hope was, in open audience to preach “ in St. Andrews, before he departed this life.”\* The Archbishop, it seems, was not so bold, and perceiving the superior strength of Knox’s party, retired, and, without bloodshed, Knox obtained his desire, and so inspired the hearts of his audience with a zeal similar to his own, that they *piously* spent the afternoon of Sunday in a tumultuous manner, spoiling and robbing the churches in the city, and pulling down and levelling to the ground the monasteries of the Franciscan and Dominican friars.

The adverse  
armies march  
to Cupar.

The Queen ordered her French troops to march to St. Andrews, and the fencible men to meet her, in arms, at Cupar. The army, accordingly, on the 12th of June, set out from Falkland. But the rebel Lords had got the start, and arrived at Cupar with 100 horse ; and the rabble flocking to them from every quarter, they encamped on a moor to

\* Knox, b. xi. p. 166-7—The reader will also recall by whom, and from whom, he received his orders, and how dignified and respectable his first flock was.

the west of Cupar, 300 strong. A few well-trained soldiers might certainly have scattered and defeated this raw multitude ; but the leaders of the Queen's army were either faint-hearted, or not hearty in her cause. A. C. 1559.

The Duke of Chatelherault and the Earl Marischal had a private conference with the Earl of Argyle and the Lord James, and a truce of eight days was condescended upon. The Queen was deliberating upon calling a Parliament, for consulting on the means of remedying the seditious and distracted state of the country, when she was informed that the rebels were in full march towards Perth, for the avowed purpose of expelling thence the garrison. The Earl of Huntly, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Erskine, and John Bannatine, Justice-Clerk, were sent from the Queen to request a delay of the siege of Perth for some days ; but this was peremptorily refused ; and the Lords added, that if but one person were killed during the assault, the lives of the whole garrison should atone for it. The garrison, at first, resolved to defend the city for the Queen-Regent ; but on Saturday night, when the battery began to play, a parley was beat, and an offer made of surrender, if no succour arrived before noon next day. No aid having appeared, the garrison marched out next day, being Sunday the 25th of June, with colours flying. Lord Ruthven, a magistrate suited to his party, was restored to the office of Provost. The next day, some *zealous men* (says Knox) were of opinion that some course should be taken with the Bishop of Murray, who was also commendator of Scone, and then

The rebels  
take Perth.

A. C. 1559.

Burn Scone.

staying at that Abbey.\* That prelate, it seems, was obnoxious to the rebel Congregation. The course adopted was to demolish that stately edifice. Mr. Knox informs us, that he, with some other mild persons like himself, attempted in vain to dissuade the *zealous rabble* from violence; but he comforts himself, and amuses his readers with the oracle of an *old woman*, who perceived, through the ascending flames, the just judgments of God, in the destruction of this famed place.† By such ridiculous tales does this canting impostor apologise for the commission of crimes, of which he himself was the author and cause.

The Queen, in order to hinder the banditti from extending their devastation to the south of the Forth, designed to send some French soldiers to Stirling, to guard the bridge there; but her enemies were beforehand with her. The Earl of Argyll and the Prior of St. Andrews set out the same night that Scone was destroyed; and entering Stirling next morning, so instigated those whom they had brought with them, and the friends of their party who were before them, that they immediately pulled down and plundered all the monasteries in that city and its vicinity;‡ and amongst others, the beautiful Abbey of Cambuskenneth, situated in

Reform three days at Stirling and its vicinity.

\* Scone, or Scoone, situated on the Tay, a mile above Perth, was an abbey founded by King Alexander I. in the year 1114, dedicated to the Holy Trinity and St. Michael the Archangel. It was the place where our Kings were crowned, from the time of Kenneth II. 839, to 1206, when Edward I. of England transferred the marble chair to Westminster. Scone was erected into a temporal lordship by King James VI. in favour of Sir David Murray, a cadet of the family of Tullibardine, in the year 1604.

† Knox, book xi. p. 173.

‡ Ibid. p. 174.

a valley about half a mile below the town, on the north side of the Forth. After three days spent in *reforming* in Stirling, that is, in levelling and pillaging churches, and every thing sacred to God, they continued their march towards Edinburgh, *to make reformation* there also, as their worthy apostle Knox is pleased to call this barbarous sacrilege.

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They halted at Linlithgow, the middle of their journey, to leave there similar vestiges of the destroying spirit who inspired and conducted them, by demolishing every thing hitherto deemed sacred or decorous. Meantime, fame had so exaggerated their strength and numbers, that the ill-advised and ill-assisted Queen, with a force of Scotch and French soldiers, which might have blown this predatory banditti to atoms, retired to the fortress of Dunbar, leaving the capital to the pillage and misrule of the rebels, whose friends had already begun the *reform*, which they themselves thoroughly completed after their arrival there. The reform made by those, whom Knox himself one while denominates the *rascally multitude*, and soon after calls the *Congregation of Jesus Christ*, consisted in pulling down monasteries, the houses belonging to the prebends of the Collegiate Church dedicated to the Holy Trinity, together with the College itself; emptying the churches of what they called the monuments of idolatry, and which they made subservient to the God Mammon. To indemnify the churches for what they robbed them of, they, by their sovereign authority, appointed them preachers worthy of such choice, to expound the scriptures to the people. To vindicate their right to the titles

Carry on destruction at Linlithgow.

Pillage and destroy every thing sacred at Edinburgh ;

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Plunder  
the palace  
and chapel of  
Holyrood-  
house ; and  
seize the mint  
and coining  
irons.

A proclama-  
tion by the  
Queen-Re-  
gent.

of robbers and rebels, they plundered the chapel and palace of Holyroodhouse, and took possession of the Mint, coining-irons, and whatsoever treasure it contained, under pretence that the necessaries of life were become dear, by stamping base money.\*

Amidst this subversion of order, religion, government, security of life and property, the Queen-Regent being, or thinking herself, unable to overpower this seditious and disorderly mob, headed by persons of distinguished birth and considerable sway, and instigated to the perpetration of the most outrageous acts by fanatical and rebellious preachers, bethought herself of trying a new expedient to recall the minds of the people to their due and sworn allegiance, by representing to them their turbulent seducers in a true point of view. She therefore, in the name of her daughter the Queen, together with her husband the Dauphin, issued a proclamation, to be published by the Lyon King of Arms, at the market-cross of Edinburgh, shewing that liberty of religion was a vain pretext, assumed by those who called themselves the Congregation, to give a specious colour to their seditious tumult, and unwarrantable rapine : That their sending messages to, and receiving messages from, England clandestinely ; their robbery of Holyroodhouse ; and, above all, their seizure of the Mint and coining-irons, were manifest proofs that they aimed at the subversion of the Government, and usurpation of the Crown : That every person had been allowed to choose and profess what mode

\* Keith, p. 94.

of religion he pleased, and that a Parliament was to be held next January (or sooner, if they had a mind), to settle an universal order in matters of religion; and, therefore, by the same authority, all and sundry persons of the said Congregation are commanded to leave the city of Edinburgh within six hours after this notice, except such as are inhabitants thereof. Moreover, all and sundry persons are commanded to disjoin themselves from the said Congregation, that is, to leave their company, and adhere to the authority of their lawful sovereign, and the Queen-Dowager, Regent of her realm, under pain of being held manifest traitors to the Crown. A. C. 1559.

That proclamation produced considerable effect; and a rumour being spread, which had much appearance of truth, that the Congregation intended to deprive the young Queen of the regal authority, to set aside the Duke of Chatelherault's right of succession to the Crown, and to set up the Lord James as sovereign of the realm, several persons of considerable note seemed alienated from the Congregation, and began to shrink and fall off.\* The leaders of the Congregation, in order to purge themselves of disloyalty, sent a letter to the Queen-Regent, protesting that their chief aim was to put away *idolatry and abuses that might not stand with the word of God*; and, moreover, they insisted that the French soldiers should be sent home.

A conference was afterwards held between the two parties, in which the Queen yielded to the

\* Keith, p. 95.



A. C. 1559.



Congregation free exercise of their religion, provided that, in whatsoever place she happened to be, the preachers should abstain from preaching, and the Catholic worship be used for the time. That condition was refused; the dismissal of the French troops was urged, and the Congregation insisted on retaining the mint-irons.

The Queen  
enters Edin-  
burgh.

The Queen, upon hearing these resolves, was much displeased, and averred, that the insurgents had now openly declared what she had long suspected, namely, that the usurpation of the government was their aim. Meantime, perceiving that the Congregation had become pretty thin at Edinburgh, and being assured of the friendship of the Lord Erskine, governor of the Castle, the Queen, on Sunday the 23d of July, *in spite of the insurgents*, took possession of the city of Edinburgh.

The Congregation and its adherents were glad to accept of the following terms of accommodation, drawn up on the Links of Leith, on Monday the 25th of July :

Terms of  
agreement on  
the Links of  
Leith.

1. That except such as were inhabitants of Edinburgh, the congregationers should leave the town the following day.

2. That they should deliver up the Mint and coining-irons to Mr. Robert Richeson, and the Palace of Holyroodhouse to Mr. John Balfour, or any other appointed by the Queen-Regent.

3. The Lords of the Congregation, and all the members thereof, shall remain obedient subjects to their Lord and Lady's authority, and that of the Queen-Regent; the cause of religion to be considered afterwards in Parliament.

4. They shall not molest the established clergy in their benefices, nor meddle with churches, religious houses, or their appurtenances.

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5. The Town of Edinburgh shall choose, and use their manner and mode of religion at pleasure, until the 10th day of January next, and shall not be molested, privately or publicly, on the score of religion.

6. No garrison shall be kept within the town of Edinburgh.

Sir James Melvil informs us, that he was sent to Scotland by the King of France and the Constable Montmorency, on pretence of visiting his friends, but with private instructions to learn whether religion was the real cause of the insurrection and tumults in Scotland; whether these commotions had been fomented by bad counsel of the French officers; but, especially, to ascertain whether the Prior of St. Andrews had any view of usurping the Crown. Melvil arrived at Falkland, where the Queen-Regent then was, on the day that the adverse armies harmlessly met on Cupar Muir; and, for information concerning the last and principal article of his mission, very good-naturedly contented himself with the Prior's protestation, that he had no sinister design; and returning therewith to France, found the King dangerously ill. Henry II. died on the 8th of July, and was succeeded by his son Francis II. husband of the Scottish Queen. Montmorency was dismissed, and the Duke of Guise, and his brother, the Cardinal of Lorraine, became the favourites and advisers of the young King.

Sir J. Mel  
arrives from  
France.

Henry II.  
dies; Fran  
II., Mary  
husband, s  
ceeds.

A. C. 1559.



After the accommodation on the Links of Leith, the Queen-Regent took possession of Holyroodhouse; and, supposing that matters were now brought to a tolerable issue, allowed the Duke of Chatelherault, and the Earls of Huntly and Marischal, to return to their respective homes: but the two former had a private conference with Argyle, Glencairn, and the Lord James, at the Quarryholes, between Leith and Edinburgh; and both parties seem to have understood one another.

Third Cove-  
nant at Stir-  
ling.

The Lords of the Congregation proceeded to Stirling, where, after a new consultation, they drew up a third covenant, by which they bound themselves, that none of them separately should entertain any correspondence, by conference or letter, with the Queen-Regent, without the consent of, and common consultation with, the rest; 1st August 1559. They soon after added the following resolution, viz. “To seek aid and support of all  
“ Christian princes against the tyranny of the  
“ Queen-Regent, but especially of England, as be-  
“ ing of the same religion with themselves.”

The reader will easily perceive how little dependence could be placed on the faith or allegiance of subjects who formed such combinations and resolves.

Monsieur  
Le Croc, the  
French am-  
bassador, ar-  
rives.

In the beginning of September, Monsieur Le Croc brought letters to the Queen-Regent, from the now King and Queen of France, informing her that an army was getting ready in France, to be transported to Scotland, under the command of the Marquis d'Elbeuf; and that, still more immediately, she might expect a few troops, with some

money and ammunition, as also some gentlemen of abilities and experience capable of assisting her Majesty by their counsel amidst the perplexity of such troubles. The same bearer brought also letters to the Lord James, full of complaints and reproaches upon his ungrateful conduct. These were idly spent upon a person totally alienated from his Queen, and linked, by treasonable bonds, with her implacable enemies.

The Queen, having received intelligence that the Lords of the Congregation had ordered their adherents to assemble on Gowan Muir, near Glasgow, on Monday the 28th of August, wrote, on the 10th of the same month, to the Duke of Chatelherault, and to every lord and baron in whom she had the least confidence, desiring them to be ready to convene with their followers, in whatsoever place she should, by proclamation, appoint.

Meantime, a thousand French soldiers, under the command of Octavian, with some money and warlike stores, arrived at Leith, which town they were set to fortify; while their commander was sent back to France, to solicit as many more troops, with a hundred horsemen in armour, and four ships of war to cruise in the Frith of Forth.

That these might be the more readily sent, the Queen-Regent informed her son-in-law, that the insurgents had solicited assistance from England, Germany, and Denmark; and had even kept correspondence with some principal persons in France, who had promised to do their endeavour that no succour should be sent from thence.

About this time (Bishop Lesly informs us) the

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Lords of the  
Congregation  
convene an  
army on  
Gowan Muir

Aid from  
France fort  
Leith.

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Doctors of  
the Sorbonne  
arrive in Scot-  
land.

Bishop of Amiens, with some Doctors of the Sorbonne, came to Scotland, who, by their sermons and instructions, had great success in confirming unsettled persons in the belief of the Catholic doctrine. They came too late.

Arran, with  
his father,  
joins the Con-  
gregation.

Lord Hamilton, otherwise called Earl of Arran, eldest son of the Duke of Chatelherault, had been Colonel of the Scots guards in France ; but having imbibed some liking to the new doctrines, which he rather incautiously vented, found it prudent to retire, first to Geneva, then to England ; and now returning to his native country, joined the Lords of the Congregation, who had assembled at Stirling, on the 10th of September. Accompanied by these, Arran proceeded to his father at Hamilton ; and having adjusted some ancient feuds subsisting between the Duke and some of the Lords, brought him over entirely to their party ; from which date, both parties proceeded to a vigorous prosecution of hostilities against each other.

The insurgents sent a letter to the Queen-Regent, peremptorily requiring her to command all soldiers and foreigners to depart from the town of Leith, otherwise they would provide their best remedy. The Queen acknowledged the receipt of their letter, which, she said, seemed rather to have come from a Prince to his subjects, than from subjects to one who bore authority. For answer, she referred them to the bearer, Lyon King-of-Arms. The Lyon said, the Queen wondered how any durst presume to command her in this realm. She accused the Duke of perfidy ; she asserted her love to the commonwealth of Scotland ; she command-

ed, under pain of treason, all the auxiliaries of the Duke, and the party he had joined, to depart from Edinburgh.

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The herald was desired to remain in Edinburgh until he should receive an answer to the Queen. Then, the heads of the faction being assembled in the Tolbooth of that city, on the 21st of October, their preses, Lord Ruthven, put this question to the convention, “Whether she, who so contemptuously refused the humble request of the born counsellors of the realm, might not be by them justly deposed from the regency?” The members being divided in their sentiments, the question was referred to the preachers, who easily decided in the affirmative. Every doubt vanished by so sacred a sanction; and a formal act *of the Queen’s deprivation* was quickly drawn up, and proclaimed by sound of trumpet at the market-cross of Edinburgh; and the herald was dismissed to the Queen with the following lying and disgraceful letter :\*

“Please your Grace,

“We have received your answer, and heard the credit of Lyon King-of-Arms; whereby we gather sufficiently your perseveration in evil mind towards us, the glory of our commonwealth, and liberty of our native countrey: For saving of the which, according unto our duties, we have, in our Soverain Lord and Ladie’s name, suspended your commission, and all administration of the policy your Grace may pretend thereby; being most assuredly perswaded, that your pro-

The Congregation, guided by the preachers, pretend to depose the Queen-Regent.

\* Keith, p. 105; Cotton Library.

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“ceedings are directly contrary to our Soverain  
“Lord and Ladie’s will, which we ever esteem to  
“be for the weal, and not for the hurt of this our  
“commonwealth. And as your Grace will not ac-  
“knowledge us, our Soverain Lord and Lady’s  
“true Barons and lieges, for your subjects, no  
“more will we acknowledge you for any Regent  
“or lawful Magistrate unto us; seeing, if any  
“authority you have, by reason of our Soverain’s  
“commission granted unto your Grace, the same,  
“for most weighty reasons, is worthily suspended  
“by us, by name and authority” (*Knox in the  
name and authority!*) “of our Soverains, whose  
“councill we are of native birth, in the affairs of  
“this our commonweal. And forasmuch as we  
“are determined, with hazard of our lives, to sett  
“that town at liberty, wherein you have wrong-  
“fully planted your soldiers and strangers; for  
“the reverence we ow to your person, as mother  
“to our Soverain Lady, we require your Grace to  
“transport your person therefrom; seeing we are  
“constrained, by the necessity of the common-  
“wealth, to force the same by arms; being *denied  
liberty thereof, by sundry requests made before,*  
“your Grace wou’d cause depart with you out of  
“the said town any person having commission of  
“ambassade, if any such be, or lieutenantschip of  
“our Soverains, together with all Frenchmen sol-  
“diers, being within the same; whose blood we  
“thirst not, because of the old amity and friend-  
“ship betwixt the realm of France and us; which  
“amity, by the marriage of our Soverain Lady to  
“the King of that realm, should rather increase

“ than decrease. And this we pray your Grace  
 “ and them to do within the space of twenty-four  
 “ hours, for the reverence we ow to your persons.  
 “ And thus recommending our humble service to  
 “ your Grace, we commit your Highness to the  
 “ eternal protection of God.

A. C.

“ At Edinburgh, the 23 of October,

“ By your Grace’s humble Serviteurs,

“ The Council having the authority, unto the next  
 “ Parliament, erected by common election of the  
 “ Earls, Lords, and Barons, conven’d at Edin-  
 “ burgh, of the Protestant *Faction*.

*Earls.*

“ My Lord Duke’s Grace,

“ and Earl of Arran.

“ The Earl of Argile.

“ The Earl of Glencairn.

*Lords.*

“ James of St. Andrews.

“ The Lord Ruthven.

“ The Master of Maxwell.

*Barons.*

“ Tullibardine.

“ The Laird of Dun.

“ The Laird of Pittar-  
 “ row.

“ The Provost of Aber-  
 “ deen, for the Bur-  
 “ rows.”

These pretended councillors were chosen out of twenty-nine Lords and Barons. “ Their hand was already in rebellion,” says Keith, “ and I think it was their honestest course to avow it openly.” Fortunately, the Queen-Regent was in condition at that time, equally to despise this shameful act and the authors of it, and might have despised them for ever, if Queen Elizabeth had observed two treaties made this year between Scotland and England; the one at Cambray, on the 2d of April, and the other at Upsettlington, a village on the north side of the Tweed, on the 31st of May. But it was the policy of Elizabeth to embroil her neighbouring Princes with their subjects, and support the latter in their rebellion.



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The rebels, by a herald, summoned all Scottish and Frenchmen to desist from fortifying Leith. But the summons being despised, they bravely resolved to take the town by assault. Scaling-ladders were cobbled up in the church of St. Giles. The preachers who had assisted or instigated the mob to plunder that church, among others, now inveighed against the scandalous irreverence shewn to, and the profanation of, the place of preaching and prayer, and prophesied ill luck from such preparations. Their hired soldiers mutinied for want of their pay; they made a fray with Argyle's Highlanders, and killed one of his gentlemen.\* They had publicly proclaimed, in Linlithgow, that they were ready to serve and assist any man for money, to annihilate the new congregation, and to re-establish the ancient worship. The Duke himself, shaken by the discourses of some of his friends, and the falling away of many of his followers to join the Queen, grew faint-hearted and wavering, and by his terror discouraged many. The Lords of the Congregation called a meeting. It was resolved, that it was absolutely necessary first to pay off and appease the soldiery. But where were the means? Many were poor; others preferred their cash to their cause. The nobles agreed to surrender their plate, to be melted down and coined, to supply the present necessity; but when the patriotic sacrifice was ready, John Hart, and the other workmen of the mint, stole away, and carried with them the stamps and irons thereof. Disappointed in this expedient, England was their next

Mutiny among the insurgents.

\* Keith, 109. Knox. Robertson.

resource for money. They had already corresponded with Elizabeth. Cockburn of Ormiston was secretly despatched to Berwick. Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Crofts, who commanded there, having had a discretionary power from their mistress to supply the wants of the Scottish insurgents, advanced to Cockburn 4000 crowns : but the Earl of Bothwell, at the Queen's desire, waylaid and wounded the bearer, dispersed his guard, and carried off the money.

A. C. 155

Money sent them by Queen Elizabeth.

Amid this despondency, James Haliburton, provost of Dundee, started as the hero of the day. With some of his townsmen, and a few more similar soldiers, he marched towards Leith, and began to plant a battery of some great guns, which he and his followers had carried along with them. But a party of the garrison sallied out ; the gallant provost, with his Dundee myrmidons, took to their heels, leaving their cannon ; and while the French pursued them to the gates of Edinburgh, the hurry and panic of the flight were so great, that each striving who should get first into the port of the Netherbow, the weak were trodden down by the strong, the foot were trampled by the few horse ; and such was the clamour and disorder, that " we list not," says Knox, " to express with "multiplication of words." \* The terror of pillage and massacre filled the city ; the inhabitants fled to the opposite gate, to escape from the supposed enemy, for the pursuers, who were only about twenty or thirty men, soon returned to the garrison. And now some of the malcontents, who

October 31

Valour and defeat of the Provost of Dundee.

\* Knox, b. ii. p. 226.

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stood in the highest estimation with their party, and who had pretended the greatest zeal for the work of reformation, began to withdraw secretly from the cause ; and such as had the hardihood to continue, wavered in their opinions, and were irresolute in their counsels. Knox attributes much of this *backsliding* to the craft of the Queen's partisans, and doubts not "*but God would recompense their malicious craft in their own bosom ;*" and devoutly prays, "*Render, Lord, to the wicked, according to their malice.*"\*

November 5.

A few days after, the French sent out a detachment to intercept a convoy of provisions designed for Edinburgh. Chatelherault and Lord James Stewart marched out with a considerable body of their troops, and charged the French soldiers ; but were soon hemmed in, and almost surrounded, on the marshes between Restalrig and Holyroodhouse, by increasing numbers from the garrison ; and but for an over-caution of the French, would have been all cut in pieces. They, however, escaped with the loss of thirty persons killed, and a few taken prisoners.

The Congregation discouraged by a second defeat.

This second defeat so unbraced the courage and thinned the ranks of the Congregation, that the remaining squadrons, on the same evening, towards midnight, marched directly to Stirling ; nor did their terror allow them to halt till they had arrived there.

Inspired by Knox.

On Wednesday the 8th of November, when their minds were somewhat calmed by the distance from danger, their undaunted apostle Knox entertained

\* Knox, b. ii. p. 227.

them with an animating sermon, which (if we may trust the orator) wonderfully aroused their drooping spirits and military ardour.\* But the Lords of the Congregation, being now sensible, from experience, of their inability to carry on and finish their enterprise without foreign aid, naturally looked to England for help, and resolved to expose their situation to Elizabeth, and to implore from her assistance in men and money. William Maitland, younger of Lethington, a young man of good natural talents, and of considerable literary acquirements (who, from being secretary to the Queen-Regent, had lately deserted her and joined the Congregation), was considered the most able negotiator of the party, and was therefore employed in this embassy. There was no need of Maitland's address and eloquence, or of Cecil's sophistical arguments, to induce Elizabeth to listen to the proposal. Her own policy, and the affront of having quartered the arms of England with those of France and Scotland, were sufficient inducements to make her espouse the cause of the Scottish re-

A. C. 155

\* If any doubt remained of Mr. Knox's principles, with regard to insidious practices against the lawful government of his country, the solution is ingenuously given by his biographer and panegyrist, in the following passage :

" In a letter to Sir James Croft, Knox represented the great importance  
 " of their (the Congregationists) being speedily assisted with troops, without  
 " which they would be in much hazard of miscarrying in an attack upon  
 " the fortifications of Leith. The Court of England (he said) ought not  
 " to hesitate at offending France, of whose hostile intentions against them  
 " they had the most satisfactory evidence. But ' if ye list to craft with  
 " ' thame,' continued he, ' the sending of a thousand or mo men to us can  
 " ' breake no league, nor point of peace, contracted betwixt you and France ;  
 " ' for it is free for your subjects to serve in warr anie prince or nation for  
 " ' their wages : and if yee fear that such excuses will not prevail, yee may  
 " ' declare thame rebelles to your realme, when yee shall be assured that thei  
 " ' be in our companye.' "—Dr. M'Crie's Life of Knox, p. 292, 293.

A. C. 1559.

Elizabeth  
assists the  
rebels.

bels.\* Accordingly, one of Maitland's attendants was despatched into Scotland, with the strongest assurance of her protection ; and the Lords of the Congregation were desired to send commissioners into England, duly instructed, with proper powers, to treat with the Duke of Norfolk, and settle the operations of the ensuing campaign.

The Congregation Lords, having agreed on another meeting, to be held at Stirling on the 16th of December following, separated themselves. Lord James, with one party, retired into Fife ; while the Duke, with another party, occupied Glasgow. The Duke was again so sufficiently confirmed in the principles of the reformation, as to cause all the pictures and altars in Glasgow to be pulled down. He likewise seized on the Archbishop's castle ; but a party of soldiers from Leith, assisted by the Lords Seton, Sempill, and Ross, soon made him abandon that stronghold.

The Congregation publish orders in the name of Francis and Mary.

The Congregation had also the audacity to publish proclamations in the name of Francis and Mary, King and Queen, forbidding the ancient clergy to hold consistory courts, and commanding them to join the Congregation, and embrace and profess its faith, under penalty of forfeiting their benefices.

French troops take Edinburgh.

The Queen-Regent, the day after the Congregation had left Edinburgh, gave orders to the French troops to march up from Leith, and take possession of that city ; and all the favourers and abettors of the rebels were obliged to leave the place. The ancient worship was there restored, and, but for the English succours, the rebels had been defeated, and the Queen, with her loyal subjects, triumphant.

The Queen was not ignorant of the underhand correspondence with England, nor of the support that her rebellious subjects were likely to receive from that quarter, and therefore resolved to lose no time in suppressing the faction, ere its foreign aid should arrive; and especially to subdue the party remaining in Fife, and to secure and fortify the town and castle of St. Andrews, as being a convenient port for receiving auxiliaries from France. A detachment, therefore, of Frenchmen, under the command of Monsieur D'Oysel, marched towards Stirling, and proceeded along the north side of the Forth, until they came to Kinghorn, pillaging and destroying, on their route, the houses and lands of the malcontents. They were, however, retarded in their progress, about three weeks, by considerable parties of the insurgents, under the command of Lord James, Lord Ruthven, and William Kirkcaldy of Grange. At length, Monsieur D'Oysel, irritated by the loss of one of his captains, with fifty men killed and some taken prisoners, pillaged Dysart and Wemyss; then marched directly along the coast, with a design to take possession of St. Andrews, and thence proceed to Cupar, the place of the enemy's rendezvous. But on the 15th of January, they espied some large ships of war bearing up the Frith, which they imagined to be a French fleet, with a reinforcement of their countrymen; but, to their sorrow, they soon learned they were a formidable force sent from England to assist the Scottish rebels; for though the season of the year would not permit Elizabeth to make her land army take the field, yet, in order to intercept

A. C. 1559.



1560.

A. C. 1560.



any succours from France to the Queen-Regent of Scotland, and to encourage the Congregation, she had sent a fleet of fourteen ships of war, under command of Admiral Winter, having under their convoy seventeen transports, laden with provisions and military stores. The stores were landed at Tynemouth, Holy Island, and Berwick. The war ships proceeded and cast anchor in the Road of Leith. The French, therefore, apprehensive of being cut off from their companions at Leith, retreated towards Stirling, and, through roads rendered almost impassable by the melting of a deep fall of snow, arrived at Leith, wearied and exhausted with fatigue.

English fleet  
anchor in  
Leith Road.

The Queen-Regent sent to inquire at Admiral Winter, upon what errand he had come thither. His answer was, “ That he had come to look out  
“ for some pirates that infested the Scottish and  
“ English seas ; and that, in order to surprise  
“ them the more easily, and also for shelter in that  
“ stormy season, he had sought a safe retreat in  
“ the Road of Leith ; and that he had no hostile  
“ views towards any other person.”

But the Queen-Regent had too much penetration to give credit to such a flimsy pretext, and immediately despatched a messenger to Seury, the French ambassador in England, desiring him to require of Queen Elizabeth to recall these ships ; and, moreover, not to send any soldiers to the assistance of the rebellious sectaries in Scotland, lest a new war might thereby ensue betwixt France and England. Elizabeth was at no loss for an answer, such as suited her purpose. “ She designed,” she said, “ to do

Evasive an-  
swer of Eliza-  
beth to the  
Queen-Re-  
gent.

“no such thing ; but seeing the French auxiliaries  
 “were daily increasing in Scotland, she judged it  
 “but prudent to place some troops in the border  
 “garrisons, in case any inroad might be attempted  
 “that way ; but they should have orders not to set  
 “a foot in Scotland, unless they first received pro-  
 “vocation.”\* On this royal assurance, the Queen-  
 Regent is said to have placed some reliance, but  
 soon found out her mistake. Commissioners from  
 the Congregation met the Duke of Norfolk at  
 Berwick, and concluded with him a treaty, which  
 secured the success of their rebellion.† The pro-  
 fessed object of the contracting parties was to drive  
 the French troops out of Scotland, and to hinder  
 them from attempting the conquest of that king-  
 dom. Elizabeth engaged to send a competent force  
 by land and sea, which the Lords of the Congre-  
 gation were to join, with all the strength they could  
 muster. Whatever place was taken from the Queen  
 and the loyalists, was either to be razed, or kept  
 by the Scottish insurgents. Should an invasion be  
 made on England, the Lords of the Congregation  
 were obliged to assist Elizabeth with four thousand  
 men. For observance of the treaty, hostages were  
 to be delivered to Norfolk, before the English army  
 entered Scotland. Finally, a mock protestation  
 was made by the Scottish malcontents, of obedience  
 and loyalty towards their own Queen, in every  
 thing consistent with their religion, and the liber-  
 ties of their country.

A. C. 1500.

Contract be-  
 tween Eliza-  
 beth and the  
 rebels.

After the French soldiers had left Fife,‡ some

\* Lesly.

‡ Keith, p. 121.

† *Fœdera Angliæ*, apud Keith, p. 117.



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Huntly's men,  
with the Laird  
of Balquhain,  
save the Ca-  
thedral of  
Old Aber-  
deen.

gentlemen of the shire of Mearns, belonging to the reforming faction, being flushed with the expectation of the speedy success of their cause, went to Aberdeen, where, being assisted by some of the citizens, they entirely demolished the monasteries of the Dominican and Carmelite Friars, and were proceeding to treat the other religious houses in the same manner ; but when they were about to assail the stately cathedral church of Old Aberdeen, they were, with difficulty, prevented by some men belonging to the Earl of Huntly, together with a party of the Leslies, headed by Lesly, Laird of Balquhain. Bishop Lesly, who was at that time official or commissary of that church, says, that the ancient form of worship was kept up there for a long time after it was suppressed in almost all other parts of the kingdom. The Earl of Huntly was, from conviction, attached to the Catholic faith, although his temporal interest caused him sometimes to vacillate. Orders were dispersed by the Congregation, throughout the kingdom, charging all the capable subjects to meet in arms at Linlithgow, on the last day of March.

An English  
army arrives  
at Preston-  
pans.

The hostages stipulated in the treaty of Berwick being delivered, the English army, consisting of six thousand foot, and twelve hundred and fifty horse, under the command of Lord Grey of Wilton, entered Scotland, and arrived at Prestonpans on the 1st of April, where the chief commanders had a conference with the leaders of the Scottish sectaries, and a plan of proceeding was concerted.

The Queen-Regent was, at her own desire, re-

\* Haynes, p. 239.

ceived into the Castle of Edinburgh by the Lord Erskine, governor thereof, who, having received this important trust from the Estates of the kingdom in Parliament, on the express condition that he should deliver the same to none but by order of the same authority, cautiously and faithfully fulfilled the confidence placed in him. He willingly received the Queen, to protect her person from the rude and unmannerly treatment he apprehended she might meet with.

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The Queen-Regent retired to the Castle of Edinburgh.

The Queen-Regent having refused to dismiss the French soldiery without the consent of her daughter and the King of France, the English advanced to the neighbourhood of Leith, where they were received by the French, drawn up on Hawk-hill, under the command of the Count de Martigue. A sharp skirmish ensued, which lasted from ten o'clock till four in the afternoon, with considerable slaughter on both sides. At length the French were forced to retreat, with the loss of three hundred men.

6th April

Skirmish on Hawk-hill.

The English pitched their tents betwixt Leith and Restalrig. Trenches were cast up, and a small mound erected, on which they planted eight pieces of cannon, to play upon St. Anthony's steeple, from whence the French had done considerable damage in the camp. The English succeeded in dismounting the ordnance placed in the steeple; and this happened on Easter Sunday, when the people were assembled in that church for divine service. The French did not discharge a shot that day; but, on Monday, they sallied out in a strong body, entered the English trenches,

14th April.

The English do mischief at Leith on Easter Sunday.

Reprisals.

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broke their troops, spiked a part of their cannon, and killed at least double the number they had lost in the former skirmish.

On the last day of April, a fire broke out in Leith, which, being assisted with a violent wind, raged exceedingly, and destroyed many houses, with a considerable part of the public provisions. The English turned their cannon towards the places where the flames arose, and hindered the inhabitants from extinguishing the fire. On the 4th and 5th of May, the English set fire to the water-mills that served the town. On the 7th, they attempted to take the town by assault; but their ladders were too short, and they were met with great bravery, and repulsed with considerable loss.

This last success gave courage to the French, and the Queen-Regent was hopeful the siege would have been raised, and that the English would return home; but she was mistaken. On the 10th of May, the treaty of Berwick was confirmed. The Duke of Norfolk had sent to the camp before Leith, about the middle of April, a reinforcement of two thousand two hundred foot, escorted by five hundred horsemen; and, a few days after this late repulse, nine hundred more arrived. The garrison of Leith was at first, according to Lesly, but about two thousand; others make it amount to three thousand five hundred; and others say, that, on the 28th of May, it still consisted of two thousand three hundred good soldiers. They were, at any rate, but a handful, when compared with the number of the besiegers; but they displayed

prodigies of valour, and the consummate skill of veterans, and bravely defended themselves for the space of three months. The last succours that came to the besiegers were two detachments, of three hundred men each: These arrived in the camp on the 10th of June. On that day, the Queen-Regent died, in the Castle of Edinburgh, of a lingering disease, heightened by vexation and grief. She was a princess of superior talents and address. She strove to promote justice and order, and ever shewed a tender affection to the people of Scotland. Her ambition to procure the regency (as we have already observed) caused her at first to allow to the fanatical preachers an indulgence which soon made them insolent, and fostered that spirit of sedition and rebellion, which led to the dethronement of their lawful Queen, and armed her subjects against one another. She saw her error, when it was too late to be remedied. She was free from bigotry, yet a true and sincere Catholic. She perceived the vanity of worldly rule, and of a popularity which is oftentimes too dearly bought, and is easily lost. It is to be hoped she sincerely lamented her errors, and fixed her heart and her hopes upon a state of more exalted and durable enjoyment.

All parties were now inclined to peace. The Huguenots in France were a formidable body, and the King could not send to Scotland the necessary forces for carrying on the war against the malcontents, aided by the power of England. The English were also weary of the siege of Leith, where they had sustained considerable damage.

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 Reinforce-  
ments from  
England.
The Queen-  
Regent dies.

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The tumultuous troops of the Congregation they received no pay, were with difficulty kept together, and longed to be disbanded.

J. Monluc, the Bishop of Valence, the Bishop of Amiens, Jacques de la Crosse, the Sieur d'Orléans, Charles de la Rochefoucault, and Sieur de Montgomerie, as plenipotentiary commissioners from James VI. and Mary; also, in the same capacity, Queen Elizabeth, Sir William Cecil, Secretary Nicholas Winton, Dean of Canterbury and others, with Henry Percy and Peter Craw; all met at Berwick on the 14th of June, and formally convened at Edinburgh on the 16th of the same month.

Treaty of  
peace at  
Edinburgh.

It was immediately agreed that hostilities should cease; that all the artillery in Leith should be brought to the market-place of that town; that at the same time, the artillery of the English camp should be taken down, and laid in an open place, and that all those pieces of ordnance, together with colours and ensigns, should be embarked for their respective countries; that the French soldiers should embark in English ships for France, the ships to be returned, with payment of freight and other expenses; and that the English troops should be marched to Berwick, paid off, and disbanded.

French commissioners  
outwitted.

In one article of this treaty, the French commissioners were outwitted by Cecil and Winton; for it seems they agreed that the most Christian King and Queen Mary, and both of them, should in all time coming, abstain from using and bearing arms.

\* Keith, p. 132. Buch. lib. xvii. p. 326. Rob. vol. ii. p. 26

the title and arms of the kingdoms of England or Ireland, and should prohibit and forbid their subjects, in France and Scotland, from using said titles, or quartering the said ensigns armorial with the arms of the kingdoms of France or Scotland. It was on account of this article that Mary never would ratify this treaty ; nor could she do so, without resigning her evident right to the crown of England, to which, in the minds of many, she was even then entitled, and of which all acknowledged she was the legitimate heir, failing Elizabeth and her lawful issue. Philip, King of Spain, was comprehended in this treaty. A. C. 1560.

As a treaty between Prince and subjects might be deemed derogatory to the majesty of sovereigns, the concessions granted, in a separate agreement, by the King and Queen to the nobility and people of Scotland, were negotiated by petitions, made by the nobles and lower classes to their Majesties, and accorded by their deputies as they judged expedient, for promoting harmony between Prince and people, and as it were (though very fictitiously) through the friendly offices of the Queen of England. These concessions were chiefly as follows :

1. Henceforth only six score of French soldiers shall remain in Scotland, to occupy the forts of Dunbar and Inchkeith ; and no French troops shall be introduced into Scotland, unless in the event of a foreign invasion made or attempted. Concessions to be granted by the King and Queen.

2. The fortifications of Leith shall be demolished, as also those recently added to Dunbar ; and no new forts shall be erected, nor warlike stores sent from France into Scotland.

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**3. Reimbursement shall be made for whatsoever debt the King's Lieutenant may have contracted for his Majesty's service.**

**4. The States may assemble for holding a Parliament on the 10th of July current, but to be prorogued until the 1st of August ; and during said adjournment, the Lords-Deputies shall order a despatch, to advertise the King and Queen of this concession, and to supplicate their agreement thereto ; and then, that this assembly shall be as valid, in all respects, as if it had been called by the express command of the King and Queen, provided always that no matter be treated of before the 1st of August.**

**5. Neither the King nor the Queen shall proclaim peace or war without the advice and consent of the three Estates.**

**6. The three Estates shall choose twenty-four persons, out of whom the Queen shall select seven, and the States five, as an ordinary council, for administration of the government during the Queen's absence. The Lords-Deputies will use their interest that those counsellors be paid out of the revenues of the Scottish crown.**

**7. Concerning the petition respecting the offices of the Crown, the Lords-Deputies consented that the King and Queen should not employ any stranger in the management of justice, civil or criminal, nor in the offices of chancellor, keeper of the seals, treasurer, comptroller, and suchlike offices, but should employ natives of the kingdom of Scotland. No clergyman, nor other person incapable of enjoying a state office, shall be treasurer or comptroller.**

8. In the ensuing Parliament, an act of oblivion shall pass, and be confirmed by the King and Queen, effacing the memory of bearing arms, and suchlike things, since the 6th of March 1558.

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9. All the Estates shall be summoned to the ensuing Parliament, and they shall oblige themselves to suppress all armed force, tumult, or sedition. Those who countenance such disturbance shall be accounted rebels, and punished as such, according to the laws of the kingdom.

10. The nobles and people shall live peaceably together; and the Catholics and congregationers shall not reproach one another for any thing done since the 6th of March 1558.

11. The Lords-Deputies agree that the King and Queen shall not prosecute nor take revenge of what is bygone, nor deprive any of their subjects of offices, benefices, or estates, on account of things fallen out since the 6th of March 1558; provided always, that the nobles and other subjects render to their Majesties, in time coming, due and entire obedience.

12. It shall not be lawful to convene together in arms, except in such cases as are appointed by the laws and customs of the land; or undertake any thing against the authority of the Queen, the council, or other inferior magistraté, under the pains of rebellion. If any one think himself aggrieved, let him state his complaint to the council, and present a supplication to their Majesties. All shall demean themselves as good and loyal subjects, for the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom.

13. If any bishops, abbots, or other ecclesiastical



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persons, shall complain of having received injury in their persons or goods, their complaints shall be considered by Parliament, and reasonable reparation shall be made. No person shall henceforth disturb them, or do them wrong.

14. The nobles shall observe, and cause to be observed, these articles ; and whosoever shall contravene the same, shall be pursued and punished according to their deserts, by the rest of the nobility and people.

15. The Duke of Chatelherault, and his son the Earl of Arran, with other Scottish gentlemen, shall be reinstated in the lands and benefices which they formerly held in France. All former agreements between the kingdoms shall be observed. David, son to the Duke of Chatelherault, shall be liberated from the prison of Bois de Vincennes.

16. No artillery shall be transported to France, but what was sent to Scotland since the death of the late King Francis ; those marked with the arms of Scotland shall be restored to their proper places.

17. Certain articles of religion being presented to the Lords-Deputies, they declined entirely meddling with things of such importance, and judged that such points ought to be remitted to the King and Queen. Therefore, the said nobles of Scotland have engaged, that from the ensuing convention of the Estates, some persons of quality shall be chosen to repair to their Majesties, and lay before them these and such other things as could not be decided by the Lords-Deputies, that their Majesties' pleasure may be learned concerning them.

These gentlemen shall carry along with them, to the King and Queen, the confirmation made by the Estates, of the articles accorded by the Deputies, and solicit the ratification thereof by their Majesties.

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It is easy to perceive, that by the above concessions, the whole power and authority of government was transferred to the Congregation, and was to be entirely managed by the nobility of that party, or those of them who gained the ascendancy, and that the prerogatives of the crown were almost totally annihilated.

On the 8th of July, the articles were publicly proclaimed at Edinburgh. On the 16th, the French put to sea in English ships, and the English army departed towards Berwick.

The preachers were distributed among the principal boroughs of the kingdom: John Knox at Edinburgh, Christopher Goodman at St. Andrews, Adam Heriot at Aberdeen, John Row at Perth, Paul Methven at Jedburgh, William Christison at Dundee, David Ferguson at Dunfermline, and David Lindsay at Leith.

The following persons were appointed for superintendants, viz. John Spottiswood for the district of Lothian, John Willocks for Glasgow, John Winram (sub-prior of St. Andrews) for Fife, John Erskine of Dun for Angus and Mearns, and John Carswell for Argyle and the Isles. These appointments were made by the commissioners of boroughs, with some of the nobility and barons.

New superintendants.

The meeting of the Parliament having been fixed for the 10th of July, Knox informs us, "that

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“ due advertisement was made by the council  
 “ all such as by law and ancient custom had  
 “ might claim to have title therein.” The min  
 of the nobility were in eager expectation to  
 the church property which they had already seiz  
 confirmed to them, or an addition of what th  
 still greedily coveted ; and the people, blown up  
 enthusiasm by the fanatical preachers, anxious  
 wished the downfall of the national religion, a  
 the legal establishment of their new doctrin  
 There was, therefore, as might have been  
 pected, an extraordinary muster.

A Scottish Parliament consisted of the chief  
 bility, with bishops, mitred abbots, lesser baro  
 and a few commissioners of boroughs, who all  
 sembled in one house.\* That the lesser bar  
 had a privilege to sit in Parliament ; that th  
 were afterwards restricted to one or two in  
 county ; and that, last of all, none of them sat l  
 by a special writ, is indisputable : but (except  
 the reign of James III.) no remarkable number  
 them were accustomed to appear in Parliame  
 The expense of attending, with such a retinue  
 the fashion of the times required, caused this p  
 vilege to be almost neglected ; but now, besid  
 one duke, thirteen earls, six bishops, ninety  
 lords, twenty-one mitred abbots, and twenty-t  
 commissioners of boroughs, a hundred lesser  
 rons crowded to this assembly.

This incongruous convention met, and stared  
 one another ; but an essential requisite to the f

\* Keith, p. 147.


mation of a legal Parliament seemed to be wanting, namely, a commissioner representing the person of their Majesties. This, according to many, must hinder or invalidate all proceedings. Others alleged, that by the fourth article of the agreement, a Parliament was to be held in the month of August, and “that the same should be as lawful in all respects as if it were called by the express commandment of their Majesties.” By the treaty of accord, the plenipotentiaries had carefully stipulated that the meeting should be prorogued from the 10th of July to the 1st of August, on purpose that, during that interval, the King and Queen might be advertised of the concessions, and might confirm the same, if these stipulations were found agreeable to their Majesties, and especially that of holding a Parliament. But, though the Lords-Deputies had doubtless advertised their Majesties thereof, yet their Majesties had not ratified the pacification in form ; and therefore the Parliament, upon the bare foundation alleged of the fourth article of the pacification, could not legally be held. The matter, however, was put to a vote, and as the adherents of the Congregation greatly outnumbered their opponents, the meeting was concluded to be lawful.

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The most zealous leaders of the Congregation were chosen as Lords of the Articles ;\* and as it was the privilege of the nobility to elect a certain number of the clergy to be a part of that commit-

Irregular Parliament.

\* These were a kind of committee, who prepared and presented the matter to be brought before Parliament.

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Thus a Parliament, turbulent in its members, irregular in its form, without representation of royalty, without the royal ensigns of the kingdom, viz. the *Crown, Sword, and Sceptre* (always, according to use, carried into Parliament on such occasions), easily bore down the tenets, discipline, and exercise of the Catholic religion.

Robertson, with his usual ill-nature and bare-faced assertion, says, “ Many doctrines of the Popish Church were a contradiction to reason, and “ a disgrace to religion,” &c. The Doctor surely pays no great compliment to his readers, when he supposes their ignorance to be such, that they will readily acknowledge him to be a better logician, a better theologian, and much better acquainted with the doctrine and discipline of the primitive Church, than a Chrysostom, a Basil, a Gregory Nazianzen, an Ambrose, an Augustin, an Athanasius, a Jerome, &c.; all of whom professed the unchanging Catholic doctrine, and lived and died in the communion of the See of Rome.

It is objected, that several prelates, zealously attached to the ancient religion, were present in this Convention, yet persevered in a silence which was fatal to their cause; and that this silence was imputed to the consciousness of a bad cause, and afforded matter of great triumph to the novelists,

and encouraged them to proceed with more boldness. I certainly do not applaud the timidity of the prelates, or what they might think prudent caution ; for had such prelates as a Bossuet, a Milner, or a Doyle, been present at that Convention, I am well persuaded that, notwithstanding their fanaticism, boldness, or avarice, the leaders of the Congregation would have been covered with confusion, and would have tried to hide themselves among the crowd, like Mirabeau in the French Assembly, smarting under the lash of the Abbe Mauri's superior eloquence and better cause.

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The Scottish prelates, however, were not entirely silent.\* The Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishop of Dunkeld, and the Bishop of Dunblane, protested against the new confession of faith ; as also the Earl of Athole voted against it. Besides, there existed many circumstances, which may serve to mitigate, if not entirely to excuse, the too little opposition made by the prelates to the extraordinary innovations :†

Some excuses  
for the silence  
of the Catholic  
prelates.

1. They might allege the inutility of any remonstrances in an assembly where so great a number of voices were beforehand engaged in favour of the new doctrines, and that it was more prudent to wait a fitter opportunity for their purpose.

2. Even granting, for a moment, that this assembly had received authority from the King and Queen to sit and consult on other affairs, yet it had no right to enter upon matters of religion, as the treaty (art. 17) empowered the Parliament only

\* Keith, p. 486, 487.

† Ibid. 150, 151.

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to send a message to the King and Queen, to learn their Majesties' pleasure concerning these and some other things, such as could not be decided by the Lords-Deputies.

3. A protestation against meddling at all in these matters (which, it would seem, would have been the most proper motion) might not have been altogether consistent with personal safety, considering the temper of the times ; for though the members were *without armour*, they carried enough of malice in their breasts, and their armour was probably not very distant. The Duke of Chatelherault threatened his brother, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, with death, if he attempted to speak a word at this time.

On the 23d of August, an act was passed, abolishing the mass; and the Catholic clergy are declared to be nothing else but *usurped ministers*, and the new preachers to be the only persons that *have power* to administer the holy sacraments; and the sayers of mass, in ascending degrees of punishment, are to suffer confiscation of goods, banishment, and loss of life. Such was the sudden transition of the Reformers, from humble supplication of toleration for themselves, to the most virulent and persecuting intolerance towards others. As a comment upon this act, my readers will permit me to transcribe the remark of a Protestant Bishop.

Keith's remarks on ordination.

“ By this act, and the whole behaviour of our  
 “ first reformers, one cannot help thinking that  
 “ they had no notion of a regular succession be-  
 “ ing necessary for the vocation of ordinary office-

“ bearers in the Church of Christ. That the then  
 “ clergy had a regular and valid ordination, no one  
 “ can doubt. And how then can they be looked  
 “ upon as *usurped ministers*? And *who* or *what*  
 “ was it, that made the new preachers to be the  
 “ only persons that have power to administer the  
 “ holy sacraments? I suppose they will hardly  
 “ say that the Parliament had authority to confer  
 “ that power. If it was the call of the people, it  
 “ seems to be unheard of till that time, that the  
 “ people could consecrate and ordain any person to  
 “ the sacred offices. Their consent and approba-  
 “ tion is quite another thing. I am therefore in-  
 “ clined to think, they will have recourse to a spe-  
 “ cial immediate appointment and designation of  
 “ such persons by Almighty God himself at that  
 “ period; but with how many difficulties such an  
 “ assertion may be attended, I need not offer to  
 “ mention. This much, at least, seems to be cer-  
 “ tain, that such a divine appointment can have  
 “ no weight with another man to receive those  
 “ persons for his spiritual directors, unless he be  
 “ equally convinced in his own soul of their extra-  
 “ ordinary vocation. . . . . That Mr. Knox,  
 “ and some others, who had regular ordination,  
 “ did at that time undervalue their sacred orders,  
 “ and act as preachers by a new call; and that  
 “ others of the preachers never had any ordination  
 “ but the new one, is certain; and it is equally  
 “ certain, that many to this day have acted as  
 “ office-bearers in the Church merely by virtue of  
 “ that new call. May it not, therefore, be reason-  
 “ ably doubted, whether such persons be really mi-

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“ nisters of Jesus Christ or no? And may not  
 “ other people, who lay some stress on the validity  
 “ of regular ministrations, make scruple to receive  
 “ from their hands the mysteries of the covenant  
 “ of redemption? Is not the plea of the Quakers  
 “ more defensible, every one of whose preachers  
 “ pretends an immediate call.”\*

The supplication for suppression of the Pope's authority was readily granted; but the claim of applying the patrimony of the Church to the sustentation of the new ministry, to provision for schools, and support of the poor, met not with such ready accord. “ For, as some there were,” says Knox, “ that uprightly favoured the cause of God, “ so there were many that, for worldly respects, “ abhorred a perfect reformation, . . . and are unjust possessors of the patrimony of the church.” And Spottiswood remarks, “ that the last clause “ was not very pleasing to divers of the nobility; “ who, though they liked well to have the Pope's “ authority and doctrine condemned, had no will “ to quit the church's patrimony, whereof, in that “ stirring time, they had possessed themselves.”

Knox complained, in his *Book of Discipline*, with grief of heart, that some gentlemen were as cruel over their tenants as ever the Papists were; so that the papistical tyranny was only changed into the tyranny of the lord and laird; and insists that the gentlemen, barons, earls, lords, and others, must be content to live upon their rents, and suffer the Kirk to be restored to her right and liberty; and that she may, by her deacons or trea-

The nobility  
 keep hold of  
 the church  
 property.

Here both  
 Knox's greed  
 and eloquence  
 failed.

\* Keith. p. 130.

surers, uplift the tenth sheaf of all sorts of corn, hay, hemp, and lint; the tenth fish, tenth calf, tenth foal, tenth cheese; and because all that will not suffice, he thinks the endowment of hospitals and annualrents, both in burgh and land, pertaining to the priests, chanteries, colleges, frieries, and nunneries, should be retained in the use of the Kirk. Furthermore, to the upholding of the universities, and sustentation of the superintendants, the whole temporalities of the bishops', deans', and archdeans' lands ought to be appropriated; and that even merchants and rich craftsmen must contribute to support the need of the Kirk.\* But Mr. Knox now found out, that to settle the revenues of his Kirk, he had something more to do than to chalk out, and go hither and thither with a mob at his heels, as he had done to pull down churches and monasteries; that new acts of Parliament, and new charters, transferring the rights of the church-lands to his annual deacons, were not so easily obtained as to be winked at in undermining a religion, the wrecks of which afforded the lords and barons so rich a harvest. The men whom he called saints and professors could hardly be prevailed with to allow him bread for his belly, when they had entered upon possession of the church-lands.†

With regard to the 13th article of the pacifica-

\* Keith, p. 493.

† It has oftentimes been said, and perhaps with good foundation, that had it not been for the envy which the possessions of the church created to its office-bearers, very few of the landed men, either nobility or gentry, would have acted so keenly in overturning the ancient form of religion in this realm.—Keith, b. iii. p. 494.

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3th Article  
isolated.

tion, which stipulated, that “ If any bishops, ab-  
 “ bots, or other ecclesiastical persons, shall com-  
 “ plain of having received injury in their persons  
 “ or goods, their complaints shall be considered by  
 “ Parliament, and reasonable reparation shall be  
 “ made. No person shall henceforth disturb them,  
 “ or do them wrong.” This article, it seems, was  
 totally gainsaid in this tumultuous convention, as  
 we learn from a letter from the Archbishop of St.  
 Andrews to the Archbishop of Glasgow at Paris,  
 dated 18th of August 1560; a passage of which  
 says: “ And as to particular causis or complaintis  
 “ as zit thir xv dayis, thai wald tak nane in; or at  
 “ the leist all the billis thai keep them as zit; and  
 “ na manis levingis nor houses restorit, and zouris  
 “ and myne in special. I can nocht say quhat thai  
 “ will do efter this . . . . All thir new precheris  
 “ perswadis the nobilitie in the pulpit to putt vio-  
 “ lent handis and slay all kirkmen that will not  
 “ concurr and tak thair opinioun; and opinly re-  
 “ prochis my Lord Duk that he will nocht begin  
 “ first, and oder to cause me do as thai do, or els  
 “ to use the rigour on me by slauchter, sword, or  
 “ at the leist perpetuall prison; and with tyme gif  
 “ thai be thollit, na man may haif lyf bot without  
 “ thai graut thair artickilis, quhilk I will nocht.  
 “ Thairfor provide remeid.”\*

Letter to  
Archbishop  
of Glasgow  
at Paris.

In a letter to the same Archbishop of Glasgow,  
 from his chamberlain or factor, dated the 28th of  
 August 1560, we find: “ Concerning zour Lord-  
 “ schipis bissiness of zour Lordschipis leving of the

\* Colleg. Scot. Paris. Mem. Scotl. fol. 168, apud Keith, 486 and fol-  
 lowing.

“ bischopry of Glasgo, I can find nathing to be A. C. 1.  
 “ gottin heir bot is alwayis denyit, baith with my  
 “ Lord Dukis Grace and the Counsall. For, first,  
 “ I geid (went) to my Lord Duk incontinent efter  
 “ your Lordschipis departing, and desirit restitu-  
 “ tion of the castell and places of Glasgo and Loch-  
 “ wood, and gaif in billis to the Lords of Counsall,  
 “ desirand restitution, conform to the articklis of  
 “ peace. And the Dukis answer and the Lordis  
 “ wes, that thai commandit the Lordis of the Ses-  
 “ sion to give all the letteris of four formis; quha  
 “ refusit, and continuit (put off) the giving of the  
 “ letteris to the Parliament; and I remanit conti-  
 “ nuallie in Edinburgh quhill the Parliament, and  
 “ thair maid billis as the rest of the Spirituall  
 “ Lordis, as my Lord of Santandrois, Duncald,  
 “ Dunblain, (Dury, Abbot of) Dunfermling, and  
 “ utheris of the clargé, quha could get na answer  
 “ the space of thretty-three days. And the last  
 “ day of the Parliament, at fyve houris at evin,  
 “ the Lordis of the Articklis callit for the Bischopis  
 “ to resson thair billis. And thai war all departit,  
 “ be reason that thai would nocht subscribe with  
 “ the Lordis of the Articklis; *and thairfor thai*  
 “ *war callit because of thair department.* I gaif  
 “ in sindrie billis to the Lordis of the Parliament  
 “ be avyse of Maister John Spens, desirand an  
 “ answer. I could never gett the answer of ane  
 “ of thame.”

The factor, Mr. Thomas Archbald, adds, in a  
 postscript: “ John Willokis is maid Bischop of  
 “ Glasquo, now in your Lordschip’s absens, and  
 “ plast in your place of Glasquo.”

A. C. 1560.

By these documents, it is obvious that this Convention fraudulently eluded fulfilling the agreement ; and by a lying act laid the clergy under the reproach of having no complaint to make ; for it appears that the following act was made in this same assembly, viz.

“ It is statut, yat becaus na man comperit of y<sup>e</sup>  
 “ kirkmen that gaif in thair billis of complaint,  
 “ nor nain for tham, to declare in special quhairin  
 “ thay wer hurt, efter that thai war twyse callit  
 “ upon : The Lordis and Nobilitie had don thair  
 “ dutie, conform to the articles of peace, quhilk  
 “ says, gif ony kirkman war hurt, let him gif in  
 “ his bill to y<sup>e</sup> Parliament, and he suld be answerit  
 “ as resson maid.”\*

No person of common sense, considering the outrageous acts of the reformers, their open rebellion, robbery, and sacrilege, can reasonably believe that such persons were raised up by God to reform religion. And then, if we attend to the scurrilous, opprobrious, and unmannerly style which they used in their speeches, sermons, and writings, concerning the religion and hierarchy which had subsisted since the days of the apostles, and was still maintained throughout the greater part of Christendom, using the basest and most shocking epithets, such as *Whore of Babylon*, *Man of Sin*, *Dumb Dogs*, *Pestilent Prelates*, and their *Shavelings*, *Generation of Antichrist*, *Usurping Ministers*, &c. ; who could in his conscience believe that such men were the disciples and ambassadors of the meek Jesus ?

\* Keith, p. 151.

But Dr. Robertson whitewashes this whole procedure of injustice and contumely, by the plea of the *necessity of the case, and the importance of the object*. Such reasoning might justify all the rebels and highwaymen that have overturned states, and wrested property not their own. The robber justifies himself by alleged necessity and utility.

A. C. 1560.

Although I have, in the appendix to the second volume of this history, given a succinct statement of the belief of the Catholic Church with regard to articles controverted by many Protestants, and nevertheless defended in a great measure by eminent Protestant divines, as also by celebrated philosophic writers; and though I have given, in the introduction to this volume, a sketch both of the Reformation and the Reformers, yet I shall here take the liberty to confront some of the leading doctrines of the new creed with the old, that my readers may judge whether reason and common sense seem to approve most of the old or of the new.

### *Comparison of the Old and New Doctrines.*

#### NEW DOCTRINE.

God, from all eternity, did, by the most wise counsel of his own will, freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass.—*Conf. of Faith, Ch. 3.*

By the decree of God . . . some men and some angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others foreordained to everlasting death.—*Ch. 3.* The rest of mankind God was pleased to *pass by*,

#### ANCIENT DOCTRINE.

God is not the author of sin, nor could he ordain it; yet millions of the most horrid crimes *come to pass*. These *come to pass*, not by God's fixed decree, but by the corruption of human nature and the abuse of free-will. Otherwise we might as well admit the destiny of the Stoics, Mahomedans, Materialists, &c.

God wills not the death of a sinner; Ezek. xxxii. 11. He wishes all mankind to be saved; 1 Tim. ii. 4. He never created a rational creature but with a will to make it happy. The perdition of the sinner is from

*Comparison of the Old and New Doctrines.*

## NEW DOCTRINE.

and to ordain to dishonour and wrath for their sins.—*Ibid.*

The corruption of nature during this life in those that are regenerated, and although, through Christ, pardoned; yet both that corruption and all the motions thereof are truly and properly sin.—*Ch. 6.*

Man, by his fall, hath wholly lost all ability of will to any spiritual good.—*Ch. 9.*

God did from all eternity decree to justify all the elect, and Christ died for their sins. Nevertheless they are not justified until the Holy Spirit doth in due time actually apply Christ to them.—*Ch. 11.*

Those who are once justified can never fall from the state of justification, though they may by their sins fall under God's displeasure.—*Ch. 11.*

There is no sin so small but it deserves damnation.—*Ch. 15, N. 4.* Every sin deserves God's wrath and curse, both in this life and that which is to come.—*Shorter Catechism.*

## ANCIENT DOCTRINE.

himself. The Saviour of the world, who shed his blood for man's salvation, never decreed nor doomed his creatures to eternal misery, previously to, and independently of, their voluntary crimes.

The corruption of nature, which remains with the regenerated, is no sin, unless wilfully yielded and consented to. The resistance of corrupt desire and perverse inclination by the help of God's grace, is a victory which God will reward.

*To will is present with us, but to accomplish that which is good we find not.* To perform any supernatural action, or to merit any eternal reward, we must be assisted by God's grace. Yet a moral good work performed by a sinner, or even by a heathen, is pleasing to God, and will be rewarded according to its order and desert, i. e. by a temporal reward.

Christ died for the sins of all mankind. God spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all; Rom. viii. 32. Christ is the propitiation for our sins, and not only for ours, but for those of the whole world; 1 John ii. 2. The merits of Christ are first applied to us by baptism.

But if the just man turn himself away from his justice, and do iniquity . . . . all his justice which he hath done shall not be remembered . . . . and in his sin he shall die; Ezek. xviii. 24.

He who knows his brother commit a sin *not unto death*, let him ask, and life shall be given to him who sinneth not unto death; 1 John v. 16. The just man falls seven times a-day, and riseth again. He is still

*Comparison of the Old and New Doctrines.*

## NEW DOCTRINE.

Good works are only such as God hath commanded in his holy word.—*Ch. 16.*

They whom God hath accepted in his beloved Son, called and sanctified by his Holy Spirit, can neither totally nor finally fall away from the state of grace, but shall be saved. Nevertheless they may fall into *grievous sins*, and for a time continue therein, have their hearts hardened, and scandalize others.—*Ch. 17.*

Such as truly believe in the Lord Jesus may, in this life, without extraordinary revelation, be certainly assured that they are in the state of grace. This certainty is not a bare conjectural and probable persuasion . . . but an infallible assurance.—*Ch. 18.*

Justification is an act of God's free grace, in which, for the perfect obedience and satisfaction of Christ by God imputed to them and received by faith alone.—*Larger Catechism.*

## ANCIENT DOCTRINE.

a just man, nor falls from the friendship of God for those venial sins, which, barring a special privilege, are inseparable from frail human nature.

Christ has counselled good works which he did not command, and promised a reward for complying with his counsel; Matt. xix. 21. So likewise St. Paul; 1 Cor. vii. 38.

Whoever have been baptized in Christ, have put on Christ; therefore they have been justified; Gal. iii. 27.—But we have seen that the just man may turn away from his justice, and do iniquity; that his justice shall not be remembered; *and if his heart be hardened, he may die in his sin*, and so totally and finally fall away, and be lost, although he had been sanctified by the Holy Spirit. To say that a person is agreeable to God, is in the state of grace, and in the way of salvation, while he is in a grievous sin, is impiety, madness, and folly.

No man knows whether he be worthy of love or hatred; Eccles. ix. With fear and trembling work out your salvation; Phil. ii. 12.—Certainty excludes trembling. We may and ought to have a lively hope, which sufficeth to keep a devout person in a steady confidence in God. Further assurance is not to be obtained, without a special revelation, which generally would not be expedient.

Justification is an act of God's free grace, flowing from the passion, death, and merits of Jesus Christ, and by his institution, imparted to us in the sacrament of baptism. If lost by grievous sin,



*Comparison of the Old and New Doctrines.*

## NEW DOCTRINE.

All the elect, and they only, are effectually called.—*Ch. 10.*

Although it be a great sin to contemn baptism, or neglect this ordinance, yet grace and salvation are not so inseparably connected unto it, as that no person can be regenerated or saved without it, or that all who are baptized are undoubtedly regenerated.—*Ch. 28. 5.*

No mere man since the fall, is able in this life perfectly to keep the commandments of God. — *Shorter Catechism.*

Sacraments are holy signs and seals of the covenant of grace, im-

## ANCIENT DOCTRINE.

God of his infinite mercy will restore it to the truly penitent by the laborious baptism of penance, the groans of a contrite and humble heart, and by the power he has left with his church, to exercise in his name.

*Many are called, but few are chosen*, because many refuse to obey the call. ‘For as by the offence of one (viz. Adam) unto all men to condemnation, so also by the righteousness of one (namely, Christ) unto all men justification of life;’ Rom. v. 18. ‘Come to me all you that labour,’ &c. Matt. xi. 28. ‘If any man thirst, let him come to me and drink;’ John, vii. 37.

Except a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God; John iii. 5. Adults must believe, but baptism must follow, or else condemnation must take place; Mark xvi. 16. The desire of baptism, in case it cannot be had, or martyrdom, may supply its place. ‘Men and brethren, what must we do?’ said the Jews. ‘Do penance (or repent), and be baptized,’ was the answer; Acts ii. 38. Arise and be baptized, wash away thy sins; Acts xxii. 16.

If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments; Matt. xix. 17. Zachary and Elizabeth walked in all the commandments without blame; Luke i. 6. Because he hath wrought judgment and justice, and hath kept my commandments, he shall surely live; Ezek. xviii. 22.

*A sacrament is a visible sign of invisible grace, instituted by Christ our*

*Comparison of the Old and New Doctrines.*

## NEW DOCTRINE.

mediately instituted by God to represent Christ and his benefits . . . to discern between those who belong to the church, and the rest of the world. . . . They do not confer grace, by any power in them from the institution. The intention of the minister is of no moment. They are the same in substance as those of the Old Testament.—*Ch. 27.*

## ANCIENT DOCTRINE.

*Lord for our sanctification.* Christ by the institution has strictly connected the outward sign with the inward grace, when the sacrament is duly administered, and when the receiver brings the necessary dispositions. The sacraments draw their efficacy from the blood, passion, and merits of Christ, and do confer grace upon the worthy receiver. They are very different in substance from those of the Old Testament. Their number is to be ascertained from the definition of a sacrament, compared with the holy scripture and the practice of the church.

Luther and Calvin pushed their rigid predestination even to blasphemy; according to them, the objects of God's ire, the greater part of the human race, are so destined to eternal misery, that they unavoidably do evil, harden themselves in guilt, and die in that state. That shocking doctrine was sustained by Beza and others, but Melancthon, more moderate, endeavoured to soften it. Knox has manifested his opinion of good works. by approving, and inserting in his history, what he calls the *pithy work* of Mr. Patrick Hamilton: in which, among other specimens of *singular erudition and godly knowledge*, we find “works make us neither good nor evil. No works make us unrighteous; for if any work made us unrighteous, then the contrary works would make us righteous; but it is proved that no works can make us righteous: Ergo, no works make us unrighteous.”

A. C. 1560.

That country is not to be envied, whose inhabitants are committed to the tutelage of such theologians or moralists. I am, however, far from thinking that the creed, of which I have given a specimen, is generally adopted now-a-days by my countrymen. I have too high an opinion of their intelligence and good sense, to entertain such a judgment. The same, I think, may be said of the major and most discerning portion of the established ministers. I am inclined to think with Gibbon, that the doctrine of the Presbyterian church is now far removed from the knowledge or belief of its private members, and that the forms of orthodoxy, the articles of the confession of faith, are subscribed *with a sigh or a smile* by many of the modern clergy.

I certainly disapprove of all persecution for speculative tenets, conscientiously entertained, and which have no tendency to disturb government or civil society ; but surely there is a wide difference between preventing the introduction of a new sect, which professedly wished to overturn and destroy the national religion, (which had subsisted for twelve or thirteen centuries), and which new sect, both in doctrine and practice, stirred up sedition and rebellion wherever it was spread. There is, I say, a wide difference between such persecution, and that of a new and upstart sect, which had gained the ascendancy against the professors and worship of a religion so ancient and so respectable. Mr. Hume acknowledges, that so violent was the propensity of the times towards innovation, that a bare toleration of the new preachers was equi-

valent to a formed design of changing the national religion. But it is time to return to my history.

The polity of Scotland, both in church and state, being now totally changed, the former entirely subverted, and the latter nearly extinguished, these pretended legislators sent Sir James Sandilands, a Knight of Malta, and afterwards Lord St. John, to France, with a copy of the acts of the late semblance of a legislative assembly, in order to solicit what their conscience already told them they had no right and little chance of obtaining, namely, a ratification by the King and Queen of their arbitrary and disgraceful enactments. Indeed, the reformers had now, by the help of the English Queen, rendered themselves so independent, as not to care much about the success of their embassy. Their message was treated by the Queen with the silent scorn it deserved ; and Sir James Sandilands, being a person dedicated by profession to the holy war, was reproached, by the family of Guise, for stooping to become the ambassador and agent of a parcel of rebels and heretics.

Another commission from the same junto, sent to the Queen of England by the Earls of Morton and Glencairn, with Maitland younger of Lethington, met with a more welcome reception. The interests of the reformers and of Elizabeth coincided, and their friendship was still more cemented by future prospects of mutual advantage. The opposers of regal authority in Scotland could not support their rebellion without the aid of Elizabeth ; and she, by assisting them, kept Scotland under her power.

A. C. 15



Francis and Mary refused to ratify an irregular Parliament.

Elizabeth kindly receives commissioners from the junto.

A. C. 1560.

These deputies, in their own name, and in that of all their party, tendered their acknowledgment of, and grateful thanks for, the signal service she had done them, and the peace and concord thereby promoted between the two kingdoms; and, in order to perpetuate that happy amity, they said the Lords of Parliament, &c. humbly besought her Majesty graciously to accept of the Earl of Arran for her husband; that although that nobleman was a subject, he was the next in blood to the royal family; that his father had been declared by Parliament the second person in the realm, and failing the lawful issue of the Queen, the heir-apparent of the crown. They finally begged her to take the necessary measures to suppress robbery and theft on the borders.

Elizabeth answered, that she was glad to receive the testimony of the good will of the Estates of Scotland, and to learn that the assistance she had afforded them had been seasonable, and productive of much good; that if, on any future occasion, her friendship and aid might be necessary for their just defence, these should not be wanting.

Rejects the  
proffer of  
Arran for her  
husband.

She considers as an expression of the good will of the Estates of Scotland, their proposal and offer of the choicest and most dignified person they have for her acceptance in marriage, in order to preserve the good understanding that presently subsists between the two kingdoms. She, however, thinks, that if the parties maturely consider their own interest, the friendship may be permanent without such marriage tie: That, from all she has heard of the nobleman proposed, she entertains the high-

est respect for his character; but, for her own part, not being at present disposed to marry, she wishes the nobleman to lose no favourable opportunity of contracting any marriage that he may deem conducive to his happiness or interest. A. C. 1560.

Finally, she warmly recommends to the Lords and the Estates in general, to maintain concord and unanimity among themselves, and not to disserve themselves in factions. This last advice was good, but her own practice, as we shall afterwards see, was to preserve factions in Scotland, to promote her own base political views.\*

When Sir James Sandilands had left the French court at Orleans, and had arrived at Paris on his way homeward, the surprising and unexpected news came to that city, of the death of the King, Francis II., husband to our Queen, who having sickened on the 19th of November, departed this life at Orleans, on the 4th day of December 1560, in the seventeenth year of his age. The indecent joy that the death of this young Prince occasioned among the reforming party in Scotland is truly disgusting; and especially, the virulent, rash, unchristian, and false reflections of their champion Knox,† might certainly open the eyes of any candid and well-disposed Christian to perceive the little reliance that is to be placed on his testimony. Francis II.  
dies.

In consequence of the King's death, the pretended Scottish council advertised such of the nobility of their party as were near at hand, to meet

\* Keith, p. 156.

† Knox's History, p. 306.

A. C. 1561.

The pretend-  
ed Council  
send Lord  
James to the  
Queen.

at Edinburgh on the 15th of January ensu  
In that meeting the Lord James, Prior of St  
drews, was appointed to visit the Queen, and  
suade her Majesty to return to Scotland. He  
also admonished, not to condescend that her  
jesty should be allowed to have mass celeb  
either publicly or privately, within the king  
otherwise he would betray the cause of God  
expose religion to the utmost danger. The  
(says Knox) replied, that he would never co  
that she should have mass publicly; but who  
hinder her from having it secretly in her char  
Another convention was appointed for the 21  
21st of May following.

Her better  
friends send  
John Lesly.

Meantime the Queen's better friends, the  
bishop of St. Andrews, the Bishops of Aberdeen  
Murray, and Ross, the Earls of Huntly, Argyll  
Crawford, and others, and, with a great many  
persons, both of the clergy and laity, assemble  
vately, communed among themselves, and de  
John Lesly, then official and vicar-general i  
diocese of Aberdeen, to go quickly to France  
make an offer of their duty and fidelity to  
Queen, and to report to her what they, upon  
ture reflection, had deemed the best plan of  
ration for her Majesty to adopt.†

About the same time, the Queen of England  
the Earl of Bedford to condole with the French  
court on the death of Francis II., as also to  
gratulate Charles IX. on his accession to the throne  
of that realm. The Earl had also another

\* Knox, p. 309.

† Keith, 167.

mission, which lay nearer the heart of Elizabeth, namely, to require from the Queen of Scotland the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh; which Mary evaded, and would never agree to, for the reasons already assigned.

A. C. 156

In the month of March, Queen Elizabeth sent Thomas Randolph to Scotland, with instructions to straiten the tie between her Majesty and the Scottish States, and to exclude as much as possible all connexion with France; as also, that they should take special care that their Queen should not marry a stranger, lest the same inconveniences, which were feared and felt in her former marriage, might again ensue.

In the same month of March, Mons. de Noailles, a member of the Parliament of Bourdeaux, arrived in Scotland, with a commission from the new King of France, containing three requests: 1. That the ancient league betwixt France and Scotland might be renewed; 2. That the late confederacy with England should be dissolved; 3. That the churchmen should be restored to their places and benefices. But the council, or junto, thought fit to remit the envoy to the Convention, which had been appointed to meet in the month of May.

The Lord James, and Mr. John Leslie, deputed by the opposite parties to repair to the Queen, set out, the former from Edinburgh, over-land, on the 18th of March; the latter from Aberdeen, by sea, to Brill, in Holland, and arrived at Vitry, in Champagne, where the Queen then was, but one single day before the Lord James. That day, he endeavoured to profit of. Being graciously received, he



A. C. 1561.



faithfully reported to her Majesty the commission entrusted to him, which seems to have been wisely concerted; the sum of which, as related by the deputy, was, that her Majesty would not allow herself to be ensnared by her brother's crafty speeches, who would probably advise her to bring no French forces with her to Scotland, merely on purpose that, after he had insinuated himself so far into her good graces as to obtain, under her, the chief management of affairs, he might the more easily crush the ancient form of religion within the realm; which, nevertheless, Mr. Leslie assured the Queen, the Prior had not so much at heart, as to wrest the sceptre out of her hand, and set the Crown on his own head. Therefore, he humbly entreated her Majesty, either to cause retain her natural brother in France until she had arrived in Scotland, and had settled her affairs at home, or that she would comply with another advice of the nobles who had sent him, namely, to land at some port of the north of Scotland, especially at Aberdeen, where her friends could easily convene an army of twenty thousand men, with which her Majesty might with security advance towards Edinburgh, overturn the past illegal acts, and defeat the future projects of her enemies. After Mr. Leslie had delivered his commission, the Queen commanded him to remain by her until she should return to Scotland. In the meantime, she desired him to write to the lords and prelates who had sent him, assuring them of her favour, and of her intention to return home. But as Bishop Leslie says nothing of the Queen's approbation of, or in-

tention of complying with the advice given to her, it is not improbable, as Sir James Melvil asserts, that Messieurs De Martigues, D'Oysel, De la Biosse, and the Bishop of Amiens, who had been in Scotland, together with others of her French friends, had advised her to sail with the wind, and to seem to repose, in the meantime, the chief trust in the reformers, especially the Lord James, the Earl of Argyle, married to her natural sister, Lady Jane Stewart, and Maitland younger of Lethington; but the sequel shewed that such advice was as impolitical as it was base and dishonourable. Had she had the good fortune to have followed the contrary advice, in all probability her affairs would have had a more successful issue.

The next day after Leslie had been with the Queen, the Lord James got an audience. He had already learned the advice she had received from her French friends, and had sufficient cunning and address to avail himself of it. He requested the Queen to return home to her kingdom, promising to serve her faithfully, and to the utmost of his power, and assuring her that the whole Scottish nation would obey her as one man, without being constrained by foreign soldiers. Emboldened by the Queen's attention to him, he presumed to ask the Earldom of Murray, which she too condescendingly promised to give him at her return to Scotland. Lord James, well pleased with the success of his expedition, hastened his return, and arrived in Scotland sometime in the month of May. The Earls of Bothwell and Eglinton, the Bishop of Murray, and several others of the nobility, went

A. C. 156

Lord James  
is promised  
the Earldom  
of Murray.

A. C. 1561.



over to France about the same time to tender their duty to the Queen.

At the Convention in May, Monsieur de Noailles obtained audience, and received the following answers to his commission :

“ 1. That France had not deserved at their hands, that either they themselves, or their posterity, should renew any league or confederacy, offensive or defensive, with that country.

“ 2. That honour and conscience bound them to the league which they had solemnly made with the English, who had freed them from the tyranny of the French, and especially of the Guisians and their faction.

“ 3. That such as they (the French) called bishops and churchmen, they themselves knew neither for pastors of the church, neither for just possessors of the patrimony thereof; but understood them perfectly to be wolves, thieves, murderers, and idle bellies. And therefore, as Scotland hath forsaken their Pope and Papistry, so could they not be debtors to his forsworn vassals.” \*

Crusades for further destruction of religious houses.

All this was in perfect unison with the justice and honour of the reigning party, and in the dignified and mannerly style of the apostolic Knox. The concluding act of this ignominious convention did not belie the spirit that guided it. It was, “ That all places and monuments of idolatry (as it was the fashion to call them) should be destroyed : and, for that purpose, were directed to

\* Knox, p. 20 and 21.

“ the west the Earls of Arran, Argyle, and Glen-  
 “ cairn, with the Protestants of the West, who  
 “ burnt Paisley, (the Bishop of St. Andrews, who  
 “ who was abbot thereof, narrowly escaped), cast  
 “ down Failfurd, Kilwinning, and a part of Cros-  
 “ raguel. The Lord James was appointed to the  
 “ North, to make similar reformation.” In this  
 singular crusade, abbeys, cathedral churches, libra-  
 ries, records, and even the sepulchres of the dead,  
 were plundered and destroyed. This robbery and  
 licentiousness was carried on with all that zeal  
 and canting sanctity that became those enlightened  
 gossellers, and men (according to Dr. Robertson)  
*civilized by the revival of learning, and acquaint-  
 ance with the Greek and Roman authors.*

A. C. 1561.

A new church polity or government, framed by  
 Knox, was established in Scotland :\* 1. Of nomi-  
 nal superintendents, chosen by the pretended coun-  
 cil or junto, and subjected to the censure of the

\* Spottiswood, p. 158, &c. Dr. Robertson, vol. ii. p. 40–41, dresses up  
 a fine story, as if the hierarchy of the Christian Church were mere human  
 institution, and was originally modelled in imitation of the civil government  
 of the Roman empire ; and he thereby insinuates, that the reformers were  
 at perfect liberty to choose the form of ecclesiastical polity, according to the  
 form of civil government in the countries where they established themselves,  
 or as their whim, or hatred of the Catholic Church and its members, dictated.  
 Nothing can be more fraudulent than that ridiculous gloss. Christ himself  
 established the government of his Church. He chose twelve apostles, and  
 sent them with the same authority as he was sent by his Father. “ He gave  
 one of them the supremacy ;” Mat. xvi. 18 ; John, xxi. 17. “ He gave  
 some apostles and some prophets, and other some evangelists, and other  
 some pastors and doctors ;” Eph. iv. 11, &c. “ Take heed to yourselves,  
 and to the whole flock wherein the Holy Ghost hath placed you bishops to  
 rule the Church of God ;” Acts, xx. 28. In the New Testament, we  
 meet with three orders, bishops, priests, and deacons. That hierarchy was  
 universally established, long before the Roman empire owned or protected the  
 Christian religion. There might be some reason for the Doctor’s conjecture,

A. C. 1561.

ministers and elders of the chief towns of the provinces over which they are pretendedly appointed, and are to be judged and deposed, if need be, by their inferiors, *without respect of persons or office*.

Singular  
church polity.

2. Of ministers elected by the people, and void of all canonical ordination ; for albeit the apostles used the *imposition of hands*, yet seeing the miracle has ceased, the using of the *ceremony* (say they) we judge not to be necessary.

3. Of elders and deacons, who are to be elected annually ; lest, by long continuance in these offices, they may presume upon the liberty of the church. The elders are to assist the minister in all public affairs of the church. They are also to take heed to the life, manners, diligence, and study of their ministers. If the minister be worthy of admonition, they must admonish him ; if of correction, they must correct him ; if he be worthy of deposition, they, with consent of the church and superintendent, may depose him. Thus, the superintendent is at the mercy of the ministers ; the minister has to tremble for the tongue, the rod, or the annihilating sentence of the elder : the elder, for his dignity, depends upon the people. Thus, the degrees of church judicatories descend to the supreme tribunal of the rabble. The annual deacons were instituted for collecting and dispensing the church-

in regard to the later titles of archbishop, metropolitan, and primate ; but the divine institution of Episcopacy has always been acknowledged in the Catholic Church. Two Doctors of the English Church, viz. Beveridge and Pearson, have very well proved that tenet.

Moshcim allows, that before Constantine, the greater sees had a pre-eminence over the lesser. It therefore appears more likely, that the ecclesiastical government afforded a model to the civil administration.

rents. "*Whence Knox took that device,*" says Spottiswood, "*I know not. It was no better than a dream, for it never could have taken effect.*"

A. C. 1

Mary, to indulge the grief of her widowhood, and avoid the frowns of her mother-in-law, who, from a jealousy of Mary's rival power during the reign of the late King, now treated her with a sort of coldness and neglect, retired to Rheims, and there spent the winter with her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and archbishop of that city. But being pressed by the warm invitations of her subjects, she began to think seriously of returning to Scotland, notwithstanding her predilection for the society of her relations; the clime, the gaiety, the urbanity of France, the natural attachment to the place, and the habits of her education, contrasted with the gloomy prospect of the bleak and barren country, and the barbarous manners of the rebellious and indocile nation, over which she was to preside.

In the spring, she visited the Duke and Duchess of Guise, at Joinville, and the Duke of Lorraine at Nancy, where she was taken ill of an ague, and returned for health to Joinville. After her return to Paris, Queen Elizabeth ordered Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, her ambassador at the court of France, to wait on the Queen of Scotland, and to congratulate her, in Elizabeth's name, upon her recovery; and, especially, again to urge the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh. Mary again evaded that unreasonable demand, by answers which proved at once the maturity of her judgment, and the superiority of her abilities, though

Mary refused  
to ratify the  
treaty of  
Edinburgh

A.C. 1561.



she was only in her eighteenth year. In point of mental faculties, Elizabeth might flatter herself that she at least equalled the Scottish Queen ; but as she was no less ambitious of admiration as a beauty than as a wit, and as she was conscious that Mary totally eclipsed her by the radiance of her beauty and the gracefulness of her person, she hated her no less for that advantage than for her pretensions to her kingdom, and the supposed contumacy of not ratifying the debated treaty.

Elizabeth refuses Mary a safe-conduct to Scotland.

Elizabeth soon found an opportunity to vent her ill-nature towards the Queen of Scotland. Mary intended to pass by sea to Scotland ; and in order to secure herself from molestation by the English ships, or, in case of storm, to procure, if necessary, an asylum in some English port, she sent Monsieur D'Oysel to solicit from her cousin Elizabeth a safe-conduct for herself by sea, and permission to Monsieur D'Oysel to pass through England by land. But Elizabeth refused both, and that in so ungracious a manner, as gave room to suspect that she might endeavour to intercept the person of the Scottish Queen.

Mary, though she could not but feel this narrow-minded refusal, did not put off her intended voyage. " I am sorry," said she to the English ambassador, " that I stooped to ask a favour of your mistress, " which I had no need of. I may pass home to " my realm without her passport or license, as I " escaped the snares laid by her brother Edward's " ministers to entrap me, when I came hither a " child." She left Paris on the 21st of July, accompanied to St. Germain's by the King of France,

the Queen-mother, the Duke of Anjou, the King of Navarre, &c. On the 25th, she took a mournful leave of the royal family. She proceeded, attended by her six uncles and other persons of distinction. She stayed six days at Calais, in which port were two galleys ready to attend her Majesty, and two other vessels for carriage. She embarked, with a mind overcast with sorrow, on leaving the land where she had spent the few, but gayest and sweetest years of her life, though even these had been chequered with gloom, and embittered with poignant grief. While the busy mariners mingled their clamours in loosening the vessels from their moorings, she dropt a tear on the receding beach; she fondly gazed on the country to which her heart still clung, until the shades of night intercepted her view; nor would she then retire to her cabin, nor take any refreshment. She caused a couch to be laid on the deck, and threw herself upon it, charging the pilot to awaken her as soon as the morning dawned, if the French land were still in view. The winds seemed to listen to her desire; the lingering galley moved slowly on the becalmed sea, and the beloved coast was still in view when when enlightened by the morning beam. Often she repeated, "*Farewell, France! farewell, dear country! I shall never see thee again!*" The spires of Gravelines and Dunkirk sunk in the horizon; the skies dropt a veil of mist on the royal passenger, to hide her from her rival's pursuing fleet; a gentle and favourable breeze sprung up; the galley moved majestically on before the properous gale, and the bending waves seemed to acknow-

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Mary embarks, and arrives safe.



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ledge the genuine mistress of the sea. At length the blue hills of Scotland arose on the distant view. On entering the Frith of Forth, a rich and varied scene of ripened corn-fields, verdant pastures, leafy groves, and flowery lawns, strove to soothe the thoughtful mind of Scotland's Queen. The towering Arthur's Seat, and the turrets of Edinburgh Castle, welcomed her to the port of Leith, where she arrived on the 19th day of August.

## CHAPTER III.

**Mary's reception in Scotland—Her correspondence with Elizabeth—She is insulted, and her Religion persecuted—Furies of Knox—Knox and Buchanan's malice and falsehood—Laws paralyzed by the Reformers—Disagreement between the Lords and the Preachers—the latter starved by their own Saints—Dispute between Huntly and Lord James—Battle of Corrichie—Huntly killed—Duke of Guise assassinated—Catholic worship disturbed—Lord Darnley gains the Queen's favour—Disgusts the Nobles—The Queen marries Darnley, and proclaims him King—Insurrection and flight of discontented Lords—They are summoned to a Parliament—Extravagance of the Reformers—Plot of the rebel Lords—Murder of Rizzio—The Queen detained prisoner—Disappoints her enemies—Rizzio's assassins pardoned—The Queen retires to the Castle for lying-in.**

**THE French galleys having given the signal of the Queen's arrival in the road of Leith, by a discharge of their guns, the people immediately flocked to the shore, overjoyed by the auspicious tidings. Mary's three uncles, viz. the Duke of Aumale, the Grand Prior, and the Marquis D'Elbeuf, accompanied her, as also Monsieur D'Anville, son of the Constable Montmorency, with other gentlemen of lesser note.\* She brought along with her many precious jewels; the furniture of her house followed in the month of October. The nobles who were in the vicinity hastened to welcome their Sovereign to her hereditary kingdom. She reposed herself in Leith until the evening, and was thence escorted to her Palace of Holyroodhouse, with all**

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Mary's reception.

\* Keith, p. 180.

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the splendour that could be mustered on the occasion; and, all around her, every demonstration of joy and festivity was exhibited; mirth sparkled in every eye, and gaiety beamed in every countenance. The exhilarating smile of the beauteous Queen bespoke her satisfaction at her reception, and gave a heightened zest to the rejoicings. Even the insidious Buchanan exerts his classic pen to describe the sufficient grounds for the joy excited by this arrival.\* He recapitulates Mary's many misfortunes and dangers from her early infancy: He praises the splendour of her beauty, the gracefulness of her person, the sprightliness of her wit, the superiority of her genius, and the culture of her mind; but closes his panegyric with the most sarcastic reflections on her innate duplicity, and her court education, which had spoiled the endowments of nature; had taught a dissembled affability; had corrupted and vitiated the seeds of virtue by the blandishments of luxury and pleasure. In a word, we may easily perceive that the temper and design of this elegant, but malevolent writer, was, from the beginning to the end of her history, to bespatter, blacken, and defame, instead of exalting, the character of the most amiable woman of the age she lived in.

Queen Elizabeth addresses the Lords.

Elizabeth finding that she was not likely to prevail on Mary to ratify the treaty, had, sometime ago, written to her obsequious lords in Scotland, refreshing their recollection of the many good offices she had done them; insinuating that these

+ Buch. p. 329, folio edition.

were beyond what they deserved, or could have reasonably expected; and, assuming the hypocritical cant, so familiar to themselves, she assigned, for the motive of her benevolence, the advancement of God's honour and truth in religion.\* Then, complaining bitterly of the delay in ratifying the treaty, bids them consider that matter deeply, and report to her their sentiments thereon; telling them, in plain terms, that the continuance of her good will depended upon their procuring, by their advice, their Queen's confirmation of the compact. The servile junto, in a tone of humility, and by a profane appeal to the Deity, returned a whining echo to her sentiments, and protested that nothing should be wanting on their part, that the peace should be ratified to her Majesty's contentment.†

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Soon after Mary's return to Scotland, Elizabeth, by a barefaced piece of dissimulation and falsehood, congratulated her upon her safe arrival in her kingdom; and asserted, that she had not in the least attempted to intercept her during her passage.‡ The letter was delivered to Mary by Randolph, who was now constituted Elizabeth's agent in Scotland. Secretary Maitland of Lethington was also sent to England as an accredited agent for Scotland, and carried letters both from the Queen and the nobility. Both Buchanan and Cambden assert, that Lethington was commissioned to request that the Queen of England should, by act of Parliament, declare the Queen of

Correspondence of Elizabeth and Mary.

\* Keith, p. 167.

† Ibid. p. 169.

‡ Keith, p. 181. Buch. p. 329.

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Scotland rightful heiress to the English throne, failing Elizabeth and the lawful issue of her body; and that Elizabeth (no wonder) stormed at the proposal. Nothing of this demand appears in Queen Mary's letter to Queen Elizabeth, or in her instructions, or those of her nobility, to Lethington; and certainly nothing could have been proposed more unseasonable than such an overture at that time. Bishop Keith says,\* with great probability, that Maitland's commission on this head could only have been a verbal message; and very reasonably suspects that this precipitate request must have been suggested by some officious persons about the Queen, who were secretly unfriendly to her Majesty, and who wished to pave the way for her overthrow, by fomenting jealousy, and sowing discord between the two Queens.

Mary's  
council ill  
chosen.

Queen Mary, ever ill-fated in her choice of counsellors, now selected a privy council, composed of the Duke of Chatelherault; the Earls of Arran, Huntly, Argyle, Bothwell, Errol, Marischal, Athol, Morton, Montrose, and Glencairn; the Lord James, Commendator of St. Andrews and Pittenweem; Lord Erskine, a Treasurer, a Clerk of Register, and Justice-Clerk; who were all sworn to fidelity, sincerity of advice, and secrecy. In this council, Lord James was the favourite, who disposed of every thing at court, and was strongly suspected by many of a formed design to possess himself of the crown.

I ought to have mentioned, that the joy which

\* Keith, p. 186.

the young Queen felt, from the manifestations of welcome and loyalty on her return to her native country, was soon mingled with a bitter alloy, when she perceived not only the rooted hatred that her subjects had conceived against her religion, but also the daring boldness by which they endeavoured to hinder herself from enjoying its free exercise. I shall lay before my readers the first rebellious and impudent attempt of this kind, in the words of the man who excited it, and gloried in it: “The next Sunday,” (after the Queen’s arrival), “which was the 24th of August, preparations began to be made for that idol of the mass to be said in the chapel” (of Holyroodhouse); “which perceived, the hearts of the godly began to be emboldened, and men began openly to speak, Shall that idol be suffered again to take place within this realm? It shall not. The Master of Lindsay, with the gentlemen of Fife, and others, plainly cried, in the close or yard, *The idolatrous priests should die the death, according to God’s law.* One that carried in the candle was evil afraid; but then began flesh and blood fully to shew itself. There durst no papist, neither any that came out of France, whisper: but the Lord James, the man whom all the godly did most reverence, took upon him to keep the chapel-door: His best excuse was, that he would stop all Scotsmen to enter into the mass: but it was, and is sufficiently known, that the door was kept, that none should have entry to trouble the priest, who, after the mass was ended, was committed to the protection of the Lord

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Mary insulted, and her religion persecuted.

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“ John of Coldingham, and Lord Robert of Holy-  
 “ roodhouse, who then were both Protestants, and  
 “ had communicated at the table of the Lord. Be-  
 “ twixt them both was the priest conveyed to his  
 “ chamber. And so the *godly* departed with grief  
 “ of heart, and in the afternoon repaired to the Ab-  
 “ bey in great companies, and gave plain significa-  
 “ tion that they could not abide that the land which  
 “ *God by his power* had purged from idolatry,  
 “ should in their eyes be polluted again.”\*

Knox furious.

John himself was terribly alarmed at the immi-  
 nent danger,† and loudly complained that “ where-  
 “ as, before the Queen’s arrival, no adulterer, for-  
 “ nicator, massmonger, or pestilent papist,” (for  
 these were always classed together) “ durst have  
 “ been seen in public, within any reformed town  
 “ in this realm, . . . and papists were so con-  
 “ founded, that none within the realm durst avow  
 “ the hearing or saying of mass, more than the  
 “ thieves of Niddisdale durst avow the stowth or  
 “ stealing in presence of an upright judge ; now,  
 “ are Protestants found, who are not ashamed, at  
 “ tables and other open places, to ask, Why may  
 “ not these men have their mass, and the form of  
 “ their religion ? What can that hurt us, or our  
 “ religion ? And from these two, *Why and What*,  
 “ at last sprung out this affirmative : *The Queen’s*  
 “ *mass and her priest will we maintain ; this hand*  
 “ *and this rapier shall fight in their defence.* If

\* Knox, p. 332. † Ibid. p. 330–31. Dr. Robertson, after know-  
 ing all this rebellious virulence of the reformers, had an ill grace to snarl at  
 the encroaching and sanguinary spirit of Popery ; vol. ii. p. 62. The Doc-  
 tor inherited a good deal of Knox’s spirit.

“ such dealing *be not to prefer flesh and blood to God and his truth, &c. let the world judge.*” A. C. 1561.

The Queen, in order to promote peace, and to hinder all disturbance on the score of religion, on Monday the 25th of August framed and published an act forbidding all molestation of the exercise of the new religion, which she found standing in the realm upon her arrival, until the Estates be assembled, and that her Majesty, with their advice and consent, establish a regular order in that regard.\* Her Majesty also, with advice of the Lords of the Secret Council, commands and charges all her lieges, that none of them molest or trouble any of her Majesty's domestic servants, or persons whatsoever, come from France in her company at this time, in word, deed, or countenance, for any cause whatsoever, or any colour or pretence, either within or without her palace, under pain of death.

The Queen commands toleration on both sides.

No sooner was this proclamation finished, than the Earl of Arran, a weak and imprudent young man, and spirited up, no doubt, by other fanatics, protested, in the hearing of the herald, that he nowise consented to the protection of the Queen's domestics, “ but that sen God has said that idolaters shall dye the deyth, if ony of hir servands sall commit idolatrie, specialle say mass, participat thairwith, or tak the defence thairof, that this proclamation be not a saveguard nor girth to thame in that behalf, na mair than if thay committit slaughter or murther, *seeing the ane is*

Arran's ravings.

\* This proclamation was much in favour of the Reformers, for, previous to this, they had no shadow of legal authority.—*Leslie.*



A. C. 1561.



The Queen's  
conference  
with Knox.

*“ meikle mair abhominable and odious in the sight  
“ of God then is the tither,” &c.*

Knox observes, that this boldness of the Earl of Arran did somewhat exasperate the Queen. But Knox himself gave all the effect he could to the boldness and insolence of the protest; for, in his sermon on the following Sunday, he inveighed bitterly against idolatry; and said, among other things, “ that one mass” (and he owns that no more was then suffered) “ was more fearful unto  
“ him, than if ten thousand armed enemies were  
“ landed in any part of the realm.” This sermon made so much noise, both in the court and the city, that the Queen thought proper to send for Knox, and expostulate with him with respect to his late sermon, and upon some of his former publications, particularly concerning his *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Regimen of Women*.

The Queen, by the solidity and acuteness of her observations upon his seditious declamations, rebellious principles, and presumptuous arrogance, put John to his shifts for answers, even if we attend to his own narrative of the conversation; but Knox, by shuffling, evading, and railing against the faith, discipline, and clergy of the Catholic Church, stood boldly to his principles; and “ *e’en*  
“ *when vanquished, he could argue still.*” Being afterwards asked, *What he thought of the Queen?* he replied, “ *If there be not in her a proud mind,*  
“ *a crafty wit, and an obdurate heart against God*  
“ *and his truth, my judgment faileth me.*”

In the beginning of September, the Duke D'Aumale returned to France with the galleys that brought the Queen. The Grand Prior and Mons. D'Anville passed through England. The Marquis D'Elbeuf remained all winter with the Queen. About the middle of this month, her Majesty began a progress through a part of the neighbouring country, and visited the towns of Linlithgow, Stirling, Perth, Dundee, and St. Andrews. Some respect was shewn to her person, but none to her religion. At Stirling, her curtains took fire while she was in bed, and she narrowly escaped being burnt or suffocated. Knox, who turns all that regards her into detraction or raillery, says, "*Fire followed the Court very closely in that journey.*"

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The Queen makes a progress.

At her return, she was received into the Castle, where she dined.\* As she came out of the Castle-gate, some of the elect swung a little boy from a round hole, as if he had descended from heaven in a cloud, who presented the Queen with a Bible and a Psalter, and the keys of the gates. The winged messenger recited some verses, which the votaries of the muses must regret having vanished into air. "She could not for shame," says Knox, "refuse the Bible; but she did no better, for she gave it to the most pestilent Papist within the realm, viz. Arthur Erskine." The other pageants were terrible significations of the vengeance of God upon idolaters (the cant-word for Catholics.) There were represented the burning of Corah, Dathan,

Returning, is again insulted.

\* Letter from Randolph to Cecil. Knox, p. 342.

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and Abiram ; and they had intended displaying a priest burnt at the altar, at the time of the elevation ; but the Earl of Huntly countermanded that edifying exhibition. That Earl bore the royal sword on that occasion.

Impudence  
of the Ma-  
gistrates of  
Edinburgh.

Upon the 2d of October, immediately after the election of the magistrates of Edinburgh, these, with their council, thought proper to make a proclamation, upon their own authority, “ Chargeing  
“ all monkis, freris, preistes, nunnys, adulteraris,  
“ fornicatouris, and all sic filthy personis, to re-  
“ move thameselfis of this toun and bounds thair-  
“ off, within 24 hours, under the pane of carting  
“ through the toun, byrning on the cheik, and  
“ bannissing the samyn for evir.”\*

They are de-  
posed.

The Queen, justly displeased at so illiberal and outrageous an assumption of her power, such despotic arrogance over their fellow-subjects, and such an odious intermixture of sacred and execrable persons, threatened with the same punishment, forthwith gave an order to the council and community of Edinburgh to discharge these presumptuous magistrates, and to elect others, which was done accordingly.

Knox and  
Buchanan  
detected.

Bishop Keith, from the register of the town council of Edinburgh, flatly contradicts a false and garbled account of this event, which is given by both Knox and Buchanan. “ It is not true,” says he, “ that it was *customary* to make such proclamation ” (as the magistrates and council made) “ It is not true that the magistrates were imprudent.”

\* Knox, p. 312. Buchanan, p. 332.

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“soned, or that the Queen desired that they should  
“be put in prison. It is not true that there was  
“resistance made to the Queen’s desire of making  
“a new election. It is not true, by all we can  
“see, either in the registers of the privy-council,  
“or town-council of Edinburgh, that the Queen  
“emitted at this time any proclamation at all.  
“But, besides the untruth of their representation,”  
continues he, “the virulence wherewith they adorn  
“their narrative cannot miss to be offensive to all  
“unprejudiced readers. If either of these two  
“(historians) thought that the wicked and the  
“devil were only to be found among the Papists  
“at that time, and that the novel professors were  
“all *angelical* persons, I’m suspicious they have  
“laboured under a huge mistake. Witness the  
“scandalous enormities of some leading men, both  
“in the church and state. The Queen, therefore,  
“had very good reason to be displeased with the  
“magistrates for enumerating in the list of whore-  
“mongers, adulterers, &c. those that were priests  
“and nuns; because they plainly thereby insti-  
“gated the minds of the populace against herself,  
“and those that adhered to the ancient forms; as  
“if, for that very thing alone, they had been vi-  
“cious and profligate persons. Some of those  
“whom Mr. Knox is pleased to dignify by the  
“appellation of *professors*, and *godly*, and *elect*,  
“were men of as bad lives as had ever been be-  
“fore. The *new opinions* did not introduce a  
“*new life*. This practice, however, was *not pe-*  
“*culiar* to that period only: for nothing has been  
“more ordinary since that time, than to jumble

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“ together the names of such persons as must be  
 “ rendered odious, with devils, atheists, *papists*,  
 “ malignants, and other godless wretches. Such  
 “ expressions have been found to be of great use,  
 “ by their influence upon the thoughtless part of  
 “ mankind.” \* Lo, an honest historian !

Knox's wild  
 rant.

Knox, again, informs us, that “ the Devil, find-  
 “ ing his reins loose, ran forward in his course ;  
 “ and the Queen (evil men abusing her name and  
 “ authority) took upon her greater boldness than  
 “ she and Balaam's bleating priests durst have  
 “ attempted before ; for, upon Allhallow-day, they  
 “ bended up their mass with all mischievous solem-  
 “ nity. The ministers, thereat offended, in plain  
 “ and public place, declared the inconvenience that  
 “ thereupon would ensue.” This mighty matter  
 was debated in the house of Mr. James Macgill. It  
 was proposed that letters should be directed to  
 Geneva, for the decision of that orthodox church ;  
 and John Knox offered his service for that pur-  
 pose. But Secretary Lethington, alleging that  
 much depended on the information, said he him-  
 self would write, and the matter dropped for the  
 present. The ministers, however, still persisted  
 in their sentiment, that the prince or government  
 may be compelled by the people to comply with  
 what they judge right and expedient. The majo-  
 rity of the nobility thought otherwise.

The too great power and licentiousness of the  
 nobles, and the very limited power of the crown,  
 had long favoured factions, and allowed the power-

\* Keith, p. 192, 3, 4.

ful subjects to contend with each other in endless feuds, and often in bloody frays. A fierceness of manners, and an aversion to labour and industry, naturally led to rapine and freebooting. The laws were transgressed with impunity. They were flimsy nets, which the strong easily broke, and the weak crept through. These disorders, since the death of James V., had increased to an enormous height. The licence of the reformers had disorganized the whole system of government, and, from the death of the Queen-Regent, until the return of Queen Mary, Scotland was almost in a state of anarchy; and, especially on the borders of England, pillage and freebooting had become systematical and fearless. A. C. 15  
Laws par  
lyzed by  
reformers

To restrain and punish those insufferable atrocities, the Queen and council, on the 13th of October, passed an act for holding justice-courts in Jedburgh and Dumfries;\* and in order to give authority and effect to these assizes, an armament was prepared of the earls, lords, barons, and freeholders, within the bounds of Edinburgh, and ten neighbouring constabularies or counties, with all their followers, in full armour, and with twenty days' provisions, to meet James, Prior of St. Andrews and Pittenweem, Lieutenant, at Lauder, on the 13th day of November, and to pass forward with him to Jedburgh, &c.

The Prior, protected by this formidable escort, executed his commission to the satisfaction of his countrymen.† A good many of the rogues were

\* Proclam. apud Keith, p. 198.

† Ibid. p. 199.

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hanged; houses that harboured them were burnt; forty prisoners were carried to Edinburgh, to be tried there; and the chieftains of the borders were obliged to repair to Edinburgh, to receive orders from the Queen for preventing injustice and violence for the future.

Knox's false  
inuendoes.

Knox insinuates that the Lord James was appointed for this expedition, as David was by Saul made captain against the Philistines, to be devoted to destruction by his sovereign.\* And Buchanan says, because Lord James's innocent behaviour was distasteful to the Queen and her court, immersed in vice, she sent him upon this errand, to get rid of him.

Bishop Keith is at great pains, from the acts of the privy-council, and the public records, to prove the futility and malice of these inuendoes: "For,  
 " 1. Lord James was one of the council who appointed these justice-courts. He did not, therefore, receive his commission against his will.  
 " 2. The greatness of his escort not only freed him from personal danger, but was intended to do him honour; otherwise the one half of it might well have been spared. 3. Buchanan, to magnify his patron's danger, calls these *robbers* inhabitants of the *English borders*, which is false." Bishop Keith adds, "My readers will easily observe, by the corrections which I have made, from original records, of almost all the facts hitherto touched by Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Knox, which bear any relation to their sove-

Knox and  
Buchanan's  
malice against  
the Queen.

\* Knox, p. 344. Buch. p. 332-3.

“ reign the Queen, how grossly, if not maliciously,  
 “ they have *deborded* from the truth, and how  
 “ little ground posterity has to rely upon their re-  
 “ presentations in other facts, when supported by  
 “ no better authority than theirs.” \*

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During the time of the justiciary progress, on a Sunday night, about nine o'clock, a sudden noise was heard in the court of the palace; the town was called to watch; a rumour flew that the Earl of Arran was come with a company to carry off the Queen.† Nothing was discovered. The Earl of Arran had openly aspired to marry the Queen. Mary was not very favourably inclined to his family; and he himself, by the most ridiculous imprudence, in protesting against the Queen's enjoying the exercise of her religion, had entirely forfeited her favour. This disappointment preyed upon his reason, which seems never to have been strong nor sound, and he soon became entirely frantic. Labouring under this frenzy, he soon afterwards came to Knox, in great terror and dismay, asserting that the Earl of Bothwell had wished to draw him into a plot, the plan of which was that Bothwell should put the Queen into the hands of Arran in the Castle of Dumbarton; murder the Lord James and Lethington; and that then Bothwell and he (Arran) should have the whole rule. Arran also wrote, and sent to the Queen this phantom of his imagination. This business was examined by the Queen and Privy Council at St. Andrews. The story seemed to proceed from the

Arran's  
frenzy.

\* Keith, p. 200.

† Knox, p. 360. Robertson, vol. ii. p. 76.



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craziness of a madman ; yet the Queen, for security, sent both Arran and Bothwell, as also Gavin Hamilton, Abbot of Kilwinning, to prison for some time ; and the Castle of Dumbarton was taken from the Duke of Chatelherault, and delivered to Captain Anstruther.\*

Bustle about  
Alison Craig.

There was in town a handsome wench, called Alison Craig, who was supposed to be the *bonne amie* of the Earl of Arran.† The Marquis *D'Elbeuf*, the Earl of Bothwell, and Lord John of Coldingham, paid a visit, in masks, to the house where the said damsel abode. They were admitted the first night : they repeated their visit, and were refused entrance : they broke open the door, and, in a disorderly manner, searched the house for the female. Complaint was made to the Queen : she rebuked the rioters sharply. The preachers presented a flaming petition to the Queen, demanding exemplary punishment for this enormous scandal. The Queen answered, “ That her uncle the “ Marquis was a stranger, and that he had a young “ company with him ; but that she would take “ such measures as should allow no future occasion “ of complaint.” This answer might have been deemed satisfactory ; but Mr. Knox (says Keith) “ proceeded to insert such unseemly and offensive “ trash, as, in my opinion, did little become his “ character to repeat, and far less to introduce into “ a history of an ecclesiastical reformation. Such “ scandal might have passed better in a book of “ the amorous intrigues of a court.”‡

\* Knox, p. 361.

† Randolph apud Keith, p. 210.

‡ Keith, p. 510.

During the heat of the Reformation, the law of the strongest prevailed, and the nobility and barons, in these *stirring* times (as Spottiswood calls them), seized such portions of the church-lands as came conveniently into their power. The catholic clergy, dreading that the impetuous flood would sweep away their whole livings, in order to preserve something amidst the general wreck, let *feus* or long leases, of part of their benefices, to their powerful friends. An act of council was passed, on the 22d December 1561, sustaining such *feus* of *kirk-lands* as had been let since March 1558, to be valid and legal until Whitsunday 1563.

After the arrival of the Queen in Scotland, the bishops, abbots, and other beneficiaries, began to reclaim their lands and benefices which had not been alienated. "The bishops," says Knox, "began to grip again to that which most unjustly they called their own. For the Earl of Arran was discharged of St. Andrews and Dunfermline, wherewith before, by virtue of a factory, he had intromitted and meddled, and so were many others."\* "If there be any thing," says Bishop Keith, "in this world, that can be called *own* or *property*, certainly the rents of the clergy were so, as having been invested in their persons by all the forms of right and property a nation is able to confer ;"† and it is equally certain, that the donors of these rents meant they should be paid to such clergy as professed and believed all, or most, of those articles which were now condemned, and for the maintaining of which

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Alienation  
Church-lands

\* Knox, p. 346.

† Keith, p. 511.

**A. C. 1561.**

the present bishops were deprived of their livings and benefices.

Quarrel between the Lords and the Preachers.

An assembly of the preachers, with some of the barons, convened at Edinburgh, on the 20th of December. The privy council, the courtiers, and some other noblemen, refused to join this meeting. The superintendents, however, and some of the preachers, waited on those lords met in the Abbot's lodgings of Holyroodhouse, where a pretty sharp altercation arose. The courtiers questioned the right of the preachers to convene without the Queen's leave; and the preachers contended that they had a right to assemble, and that such meetings were necessary.

The Book of Discipline was presented, and its ratification by the Queen was required; but it was hooted, and Secretary Lethington characterised it by some vilifying epithets. An extract of certain articles from the same book, for the suppression of what these doctors termed idolatry, was proposed, with no better success.

Another motion was made, for procuring a suitable maintenance for the new preachers, which was the more favourably entertained, that it had a tendency to secure to the lords and barons the churchlands, which they had already laid hold on, and also afforded a prospect of procuring more of the same kind. After mature deliberation of the Queen, the council, and the rest of the nobility, and also having intercommuned with the prelates and other ecclesiastical beneficiaries, it was agreed that the ancient possessors of ecclesiastical property should retain two-thirds of their former income; and that

the other third of all the benefices should be collected by persons appointed by the Queen's Majesty, and to begin upon the present crop 1561.\* From that third, so collected, a certain reasonable sum should be deducted, *modified*, and applied to the maintenance of the new ministry. The remainder of said sum was to be retained by the Queen's Majesty, for defraying the necessary expenses of the crown, and other exigencies of the state. This order was to continue and stand, ay and until further order be taken by the Queen's Majesty, with the advice of her Estates. To give effect to this act and decree, an order was issued, that all ecclesiastical persons and beneficiaries, of every rank, and all persons holding ecclesiastical property, should give in an exact account of the whole rentals of their benefices to the Queen and Lords of the Council, at the times specified. Likewise, the new superintendents, ministers, elders, and deacons, were to give in their names, and a formal sufficient roll and memorial, specifying what may be sufficient and reasonable to sustain the new ministry.

A. C. 1561.

Some provision made for the Preachers.

After repeated orders and proclamations, the rentals of the bishopricks and principal religious houses, &c. were pretty well ascertained; and deducting two-thirds thereof for the old possessors, the remaining third, and estimating the grain and all things paid in kind, amounted to the sum of £72,491 : 13 : 3½ Scots, equal to £6040 : 19 : 5¼ sterling.†

• Public Records, apud Keith, Appendix, p. 175, &c.

† Keith, App. p. 188.

A. C. 1561.

We may observe, that a pound Scots would then have purchased as much victuals as a pound sterling would purchase now, that is, twelve times as much. This ratio is, however, about one-half abated, when we consider the intrinsic value of silver, that is to say, its weight. For at that time, an ounce of silver was estimated at thirty shillings Scots, that is, thirty pence sterling; whereas an ounce of silver is now valued at sixty pence, or five shillings sterling.

There remains a doubt, whether the ancient beneficiaries, or their own factors, collected their own shares; or whether the Queen's collectors uplifted the whole, and then accounted, in their own way, to the beneficiaries. The latter seems the more probable, as the ecclesiastics who did not conform to the new doctrines appear to have been often ill-treated by the comptrollers and collectors of the fruits of the benefices. It likewise appears, that the poor monks and friars were shamefully neglected by the abbots and other superiors who conformed to the new creed.

It might have been presumed that the new preachers at least would have been handsomely and regularly paid, when it is perceived that the persons appointed to regulate the salaries, or modify, as it was called, the stipends of the new evangelists, were the leading men among the godly, and whom the preachers formerly seemed to sway with absolute authority. These were the Lord James, now Earl of Mar, the Earls of Argyle and Morton, and Secretary Lethington. The paymaster was the zealous and godly Wishart of Pittarrow;

Monks neglected.

and 100 merks Scots, that is, £5 : 11 : 1 sterling, was the ordinary allowance for the generality of ministers.\* To a few choice ones, 300 merks were assigned ; the superintendents got perhaps a trifle more. £24,000 Scots was the pitiful sum allotted for the whole fraternity of the new ministry.†

A. C. 1561.

Can there be a better or more convincing proof of the hypocrisy of the Lords of the Congregation ; that they were destitute of every principle of honour, honesty, or religion ; and that their sole motive for embarking in overturning the religion and government of their country, was sordid avarice ? For if there had been the least sincerity in their pretended zeal for the new doctrines, they never would have abandoned the persons, to whom they believed they owed their instruction and illumination, to a state of wretchedness and starvation.

Preachers starved by their own saints.

The lords and barons were now in a fair train for obtaining almost the whole church property ; for as the bishops and abbots died out, the great families got their sons, though laicks, and oftentimes boys, appointed to the vacancies. Several abbots, by conforming to the new mode of religion, got their abbacies transferred to them, or erected into temporal lordships, inherited by their children or friends.‡ During the Queen's troubles, many were forfeited, and given to some of the ascendant party. Thus the lords, when they got possession, or a fair prospect of what they aimed at, neglected the instruments of their sacrilegious gain, and left them

\* Knox, p. 352.

† Robertson, vol. ii. p. 35.

‡ Keith, Appendix, p. 191.

A. C. 1561.



exposed to misery, and the contempt of the populace. Knox raged and remonstrated in vain. “ I “ see,” says he, “ two parts given to the Devil, “ and one third divided between God and the De- “ vil; and, ere long, the Devil shall have three “ parts of the third. Who would have thought “ that, when Joseph ruled Egypt, that his brethren “ should have travelled for victuals, and have re- “ turned with empty sacks.”\* He even seems dis- posed, in his anger, to make a present to his infer- nal Majesty of his former godly friend and pillar of the Congregation, Wishart of Pittarrow, who had been totally perverted by handling the cash. “ The good Laird of Pittarrow,” says he, “ was an “ earnest professor of Christ; but the great Devil “ receive the comptroller.”†

Knox's pious  
prayer for his  
old friend.

Every one  
for himself.

Pittarrow, indeed, seems to have had no great reputation for honesty; for we see a strong petition against him, presented to the Privy Council on the 14th of December 1563, by Dean Adam Forman, formerly Prior of the Carthusians, near Perth;‡ which petition bitterly complains that, notwith- standing the repeated orders of her Highness the Queen, to answer the said Dean “ of the frutes” of said place, yet that order had been neglected, to the great hurt of Dean Adam, and the other poor and sick brethren belonging to that monastery. There was a similar supplication presented, on the 18th of January 1563, against Mark, Commendator of Newbottle, shewing that he had intronitted with

\* Knox, p. 353.

† Ibid. p. 353.

‡ Keith, Appendix, p. 191, 192.

the “hale fruits of the said Abbey ;” and, for three years bypast, had not given the petitioners (monks of that Abbey) one penny to live on.

The grand gulphs that swallowed up the Queen’s share of the thirds were pensions, given gratis by the Queen to those about the court, and remittances of their thirds to several bishops, abbots, priors, &c. ; of which last the Earl of Murray was always sure to obtain the thirds of his priories of St. Andrews and Pittenweem.\* The Earl of Argyle likewise comes in for a good large share, and the Lord Erskine for no less. It appears, too, that the pensioners, both of Church and State, were mostly such as followed the new form of religion.

Moreover, the Queen, with advice of her council, ordained that the rents and duties within free burghs, or other towns pertaining to chaplainries, prebendaries, or convents, together with the rents of the friar-lands, wherever they be, shall be uplifted by persons appointed by her Majesty, and applied to the support of hospitals, schools, and other pious uses, as shall seem best to her Highness, by advice of her council.† And knowing that no places can be more commodious for such hospitals, and schools or colleges, than the convents that have not been demolished, her Highness orders the provosts and bailies of Aberdeen, Elgin, Inverness, Glasgow, and other burghs of this realm, to uphold and keep in repair the said convents of friaries yet undemolished, together with their yards, crchards, and other pertinents, from the funds be-

\* Keith, App. p. 188.

† Knox, p. 351. Keith, App. p. 178.



A. C. 1562.



longing to them; and that they apply the said places and rentals for behoof of said towns, until the Queen's Majesty be further advised, and take final order in such things.

Scotland not improved by the new order of things.

It is likely that this order was not long, if ever, adhered to.\* Those places probably shared the same fate of the other religious foundations, that is, they were swallowed up by the aristocracy. It were an easy matter to prove, that if the religion and religious institutions had continued in Scotland as they were at the death of James V., correcting certain abuses, particularly the improper choice and appointment of the dignified clergy, Scotland had at this day been more learned, more wealthy, more virtuous and happy, than it is. The clergy lived on the lands which yielded their income; the monasteries cultivated and improved the grounds allotted to them; a numerous healthy and happy tenantry rented their lands at an easy rate: the abbeyes and convents afforded education to such as were desirous of it; they exercised the greatest hospitality to strangers and decayed gentlemen; and they were the constant and charitable refuge of the poor. The clergy were also the surest resource of the Crown and of the State in great emergencies. Are their revenues now better expended by those who carry a considerable portion of them out of the country, and spend them in luxury and gaming, on servants, horses, dogs, and ——— ?

Scotland, like every feudal kingdom, had long been torn and convulsed by interior factions, jars,

\* See Vol. I. p. 355, of this History.

and contentions among the nobles and chieftains. These heart-burnings, since the arrival of the Queen, had been hushed amidst the general joy, and the gaiety and festivity of the Court; but the embers only slept under the ashes, and when stirred again, and some new fuel added, burst out into a flame. Lord Ogilvy and Sir John Gordon, a younger son of the Earl of Huntly, had had a dispute about some landed property. They rencountered each other on the streets of Edinburgh, attended by their retainers: a scuffle ensued, during which Ogilvy was severely wounded. This offence could not be passed over. Sir John was imprisoned; but, impatient of a punishment which, from remissness of justice in latter times, was deemed rigorous and severe, he escaped from his prison, and returned to his friends, discontented and murmuring against the Lord James, now created Earl of Mar, to whose counsel he attributed the supposed affront he had sustained.

A. C. 1562.

Sir John  
Gordon  
breaks ward.

The Earl of Huntly, by his hereditary property, and the favour of former Kings, had become the most opulent and powerful subject in Scotland. He had been appointed the Lieutenant of all the counties beyond the Forth. Amongst other accessions of wealth, he had been allowed, for many years, to retain the lands annexed to the earldoms of Mar and Murray. He had for some time past beheld with a jealous eye the extraordinary favour and authority which the Prior of St. Andrews had obtained at court; and to which, not without reason, he imagined he himself had a preferable title. This displeasure was greatly increased when he

Huntly in-  
censed again  
Lord , ,

A. C. 1562.

who is first  
made Earl  
of Mar ;

learned that the estates of Mar, together with the title, had been conferred on the Prior. He frowned at the introduction of a formidable and disagreeable neighbour into the heart of his estates.

Meantime, the Queen set out on a progress through some parts of the north, accompanied by the Earls of Mar and Morton, with Maitland, and some other courtiers of the day. The Earl of Huntly would have been most happy to have welcomed the Queen into his ample territories, and to have contributed all he could to her safety and to her comfort ; but he naturally disliked her attendants. He, however, together with his lady, met the Queen's Majesty at Aberdeen, accompanied her to Buchan, and again met her at Rothiemay. The Countess of Huntly was a lady of great address, and exerted all her skill and influence to incline the Queen to pardon her son, Sir John Gordon ; but the Queen was too much under the power of Mar, to grant her humble and reasonable petition. She peremptorily ordered that he should deliver himself again to ward, and there to wait her clemency. What made the command still more unpalatable, he was to be confined in the Castle of Stirling, the keeping of which belonged to Lord Erskine, the Prior's uncle. Sir John, however, seemed at first to obey the harsh order ; but his high spirit revolting, he broke from his guards, and hastened to defend his cause by arms. The Queen, upon hearing of Sir John's disobedience, refused to lodge in Huntly's castle of Strathbogie, but proceeded directly to Inverness. There she demanded admittance into the castle, but was re-

fused. She, however, by means of her guard and some of the neighbouring clans, who flew to her assistance, forced the castle, and put the governor to death, for his treasonable insolence. A. C. 1562.

It is alleged, that upon this occasion further encroachments were made upon Huntly's possessions, which still more exasperated his rage. The earldom of Mar, with its appurtenances, was transferred to Lord Erskine, who pretended to have some claim to it; and to indemnify the Prior, the earldom of Murray, with its lands (which the Earl of Huntly had been allowed to possess since the year 1548), was bestowed on the Lord James. then Earl of Murray.

Returning towards Aberdeen, the Queen demanded the castles of Findlater and Auchindown, which were refused; but the Earl, to shew some obedience, sent the keys of both to the Queen. She, however, had previously despatched a party of soldiers, with orders either to break open or to blockade the place of Findlater; which party Sir John Gordon attacked during the night, slew some, and disarmed the rest.

Every thing now breathed rebellion and civil war. The Earl of Huntly, stripped of the possessions which the crown had bestowed on him as the reward of his services, conceived that, by the malice of his enemies, his family was devoted to destruction; and, despising the summons to appear before the Queen and her council, he collected his adherents, and marched towards Aberdeen.

The Queen, by proclamation, had summoned all the fighting men of Stirlingshire, Fife, Angus, Mearns, and Strathern, to be in Aberdeen on the

L. C. 1562.

Battle of  
 Corrichie.

Huntly  
 killed, and  
 his body kept  
 unburied.

5th of October, and to remain there for twenty days. Her army, in number and prowess, (says Knox) far surpassed that of Huntly, which was now posted at Corrichie, fifteen miles from Aberdeen. Murray marched to the attack on the 28th of October. His northern associates began the onset, but soon fled. Huntly's men too loosely followed in pursuit; but, falling in with a firmer battalion, under the command of the Master of Lindsay, were repulsed. Meanwhile Murray's fugitives rallied, and in their turn pursued and killed many of Huntly's defeated party. The Earl himself was either trodden down, or basely assassinated when taken. His two sons, John and Adam, were taken prisoners. The former was summarily beheaded, or rather butchered, by an unskilful executioner. Adam, on account of his youth, was pardoned. The Earl's dead body was conveyed to Edinburgh by sea, and kept unburied in the Abbey of Holyroodhouse until the May following, when an indictment of high treason before the Parliament was exhibited against him. Thus, Queen Mary, ever unfortunate, and misled by the persons whom she trusted, allowed a noble and renowned family, the most sincerely attached to her interest, to be brought to the brink of destruction, by putting the management of her kingdom into the hands of the black-hearted and mortal enemy of that family, as well as of herself. The Earl of Huntly's friends affirm, with great appearance of truth, that "the true occasion of  
 " the conflict of Corrichie, and of all the troubles  
 " which happened to the Gordons, was the sincere

“ and loyal affection they had to the Queen’s pre-  
 “ servation ; and it is most certain, they say, that  
 “ the Earl of Huntly gathered these forces at her  
 “ Majesty’s own desire, to free her from the Earl  
 “ of Murray’s power,” \* which he had extorted  
 from herself.

But what seems to prove the inveterate hatred and malice of Murray and his party, is the outrageous manner of proceeding against Lord Gordon, eldest son of the deceased Earl of Huntly. That young nobleman, after the tragical death and barbarous treatment of the remains of his father, fled for protection to his father-in-law, the Duke of Chatelherault ; but, by the Queen’s order (that is, doubtless, by an order extorted by the insidious Murray), he was detained prisoner by the same Duke, in his house of Kinneil ; and after her Majesty’s and her base brother’s return, the Lord Gordon was committed to the Castle of Edinburgh on the 28th of November ; and on the 8th day of February thereafter, was brought forth to a public trial for his life, as having been *art and part* in his father’s treasonable practices. So unblushingly regardless were his enemies of the common forms of justice observed in the criminal trials of the meanest culprits, that no indictment was preferred against him ; nor was he served with any until the day he was brought to the bar of justice (so miscalled). We do not find it alleged that he was in the field of Corrichie ; and yet, such was the overbearing power, as well as malevolence, of his

\* Keith, p. 229.

A. C. 1562.

Lord Gordon condemned; but respited by the Queen.

enemies, that he was quickly found guilty of high treason, and condemned “to be hangit whil he  
 “war deid, drawn, quarterit, and demainit as ane  
 “trator, *at oure Soveranis plesor.*” The last clause in the sentence was the only thing that saved the life of this noble person; for the Queen, justly commiserating the misfortunes which had of late befallen his family, was pleased to suspend his execution. He was remanded, first to the Castle of Edinburgh, and afterwards sent prisoner to the Castle of Dunbar, there to remain till her pleasure should be farther known. It is, it seems, recorded in *The Lives of the Lords Chancellors*, that this nobleman narrowly escaped death upon a false warrant from the Queen, so resolved were his enemies on his death.

1563.

Paul Methven's backsliding.

About this time, Mr. Knox, who had spent much of his breath in railing against the catholic clergy, had something to rectify in his own order. Paul Meffan or Methven, who, it seems, had but little of a virtue strongly recommended by an ancient apostle of his name, had, in the absence of his wife, caused another to supply her place. This *backsliding* had come to light by the appearance of a child, for which no other father could be produced. Paul was accused, but sturdily denied, and offered to give his public purgation. The fact, however, was so clearly substantiated, that Paul found it necessary to abscond, and was publicly excommunicated. He, notwithstanding, entered the ministry among his brethren in England, who either were unacquainted with his history, or were less scrupulous.

Mr. Knox now finds out, what had not occurred to his memory while he was tongue-beating the ancient clergy, viz. “that Paul’s aberration did  
 “nowise prejudice the authority of the doctrine  
 “which he taught; as the treason of Judas, the  
 “adultery of David, and the abnegation of Peter,  
 “did derogate nothing from the glory of Christ’s  
 “evangel, nor yet the doctrine which before they  
 “had taught.” \*

A. C. 1563.

Knox also forgets the defence that Paul Meffan might have brought forward from the new creed, viz. “That they whom God hath accepted in his  
 “beloved Son, called and sanctified by his Holy  
 “Spirit, can neither totally nor finally fall away  
 “from the state of grace; although they may fall  
 “into grievous sin, and, for a time, continue therein, have their hearts hardened, and scandalize  
 “others.”† Now, as Mr. Knox allows, that no man, in the beginning of the evangel, was judged more fervent and more upright than Paul Meffan, might not the said Paul have pleaded, that then, truly believing, he had been certainly assured that he was in the state of grace,‡ and that, notwithstanding his backsliding, he had not fallen away from that happy state? I leave to the disciples of Knox to reconcile those inconsistencies.

Paul’s shelter  
in the new  
creed.

Knox informs us, “that, at Easter 1563, the  
 “Bishop of St. Andrews, the Prior of Whithorn,  
 “and others in divers places of the realm, had  
 “again erected the idol of the mass, and that the

\* Knox, p. 380.

† Confession of Faith, chap. xvii.

‡ Ibid. chap. xviii.



A. C. 1563.



Reformers  
make and  
execute laws.

“ brethren, universally offended, and espying that  
 “ the Queen’s proclamation did but delude them,  
 “ determined to put to their own hands. And so  
 “ some priests in the west were apprehended ; in-  
 “ timation made unto others, as to the Abbot of  
 “ Crosraguel, the Parson of Sanquhar, &c. that  
 “ they” (the Congregation) “ would neither com-  
 “ plain to the Queen nor the Council, but would  
 “ execute the punishment that God hath appointed  
 “ to idolaters in his law, by such means as they  
 “ might, whenever such delinquents should be ap-  
 “ prehended.” \* Such was the tolerance of the  
 reformers.

The Queen sent for Knox, and asked him if he  
 meant to take the sword out of her hand. John  
 answered, “ That the sword of justice was God’s ;  
 “ and if she refused to wield it” (as his party  
 wished) “ others would not let it sleep in its scab-  
 “ bard.”

Rival suitors  
of Queen  
Mary.

The Scottish nation, wishing the Crown to de-  
 scend in the direct line from their ancient kings,  
 and a considerable party in England, who looked  
 upon Mary as the heir-apparent of the English  
 throne, were all eagerly desirous of her marriage.  
 As she was the most beautiful and the most ac-  
 complished Princess of the age, was already in  
 possession of a powerful and ancient kingdom, and  
 seemed to have a fair prospect of succeeding to  
 another still more powerful and more opulent  
 kingdom, many competitors started, emulous of  
 obtaining so illustrious a prize. The King of Swe-

\* Knox. p. 382-383.

den had sent an ambassador to solicit the hand of the Scottish Queen.\* The embassy was honourably and politely received, but no encouragement was given to the suit. The Emperor of Austria entered into a negotiation with the Cardinal of Lorraine, which had for its object the marriage of the Cardinal's niece with the Archduke Charles, the third son of Ferdinand, with a dowry of the county of Tyrol, worth thirty thousand franks per annum.† Philip II. King of Spain, employed his ambassador at Paris to solicit the Princess of Lorraine to procure the amiable Queen of Scotland for his son Don Carlos, the heir of all his extensive dominions.‡

Catharine of Medicis, Mary's mother-in-law, to avert the danger to which France might be exposed from either of these alliances, by increasing the power of the Austrians, or the resources of the house of Lorraine, despatched Castlenau, offering Mary the Duke of Anjou, the brother of her former husband,|| which Duke soon after mounted the throne of France.

Mary had sufficient discernment to perceive that the King of Spain's offer was by far the most flattering, as well as the most eligible; but the fear of a total breach with the Queen of England; of diminishing the good-will of the English nation, and risking her succession to that throne; as also of incurring the displeasure of her own Scottish subjects, caused her to pause, and not easily to

\* Knox, p. 364.

† Keith, p. 239.

‡ Castlenau, p. 461.

|| Ibid. p. 461.

A. C. 1563.



Assassination  
of the Duke  
of Guise.

consent to the proposal, however flattering and desirable. She was also most probably discouraged from entertaining those high prospects by the melancholy death of her uncle the Duke of Guise, who had been treacherously assassinated by one of his own attendants, *Jean Poltrot de Meré*.<sup>\*</sup> The Duke of Guise, even in the judgment of his enemies, was the most accomplished prince, and the greatest general of his time. He died on the 24th February 1563. Mary could not hope to bring about any of those foreign alliances when deprived of the eminent diplomatic and military talents of that great man, having now no similar patron at home or abroad.

A Parlia-  
ment.

A Parliament was held on the 26th of May. The Earldom of Murray was confirmed to the Prior of St. Andrews. The Earl of Huntly (as we have noticed) was attainted, as were also some of his friends and dependents. Many of that name were imprisoned in different places. The attainder of Kirkaldy of Grange, and of some of his accomplices in the murder of Cardinal Beaton, was reversed. The act of oblivion, the eighth in the treaty of Edinburgh, received the royal sanction, in condescension to the humble petition of the Lords, made upon their knees ; but with this salvo, that the sanction of said clause should not be

\* The Admiral Colligni, the chief of the Protestants, and Theodore Beza, the famous Protestant minister, were charged with having contrived this murder. Randolph writes to Cecil, 1st April 1563, that Beza, encouraging Poltrot, fainting in his resolution, says, "Allez vous en prenez courage, les Anges vous assisteront." The party deny this charge. Colligni calls it a wicked deed ; but Knox exultingly makes it a visible judgment of the Almighty, and seems to approve the deed.

deemed any ratification of the rest of that treaty, which the Queen never would nor could grant. A. C. 1563.

The Queen, being dunned by the preachers, had been prevailed on to prosecute and imprison both the Archbishop of St. Andrews and the Prior of Whithorn, for celebrating mass, contrary to a forced proclamation.\* The Lords did not insist on any farther concessions to the new tenets and modes of religion, which might have hindered grants which they deemed of more importance. They had put themselves in a fair train for obtaining by degrees the church property, their principal aim in the Reformation.

The preachers let loose their tongues in the Billingsgate language, which they richly possessed. The pulpits were thumped, and the churches and echoes rang with declamations against *idolatry*, and against the apostate lords, who had deserted the interests of religion, and with dismal presages of the Queen's marriage with a foreigner and a papist. Knox solemnly renounced the friendship of the Earl of Murray, and demanded punishment by the civil law upon adultery, fornication, &c., which (not much to the honour of his wide-spread reformation), he said, in this realm, did so abound, that sin is reputed to be no sin.†

Knox and  
his party  
rage.

Whilst the Queen was at Stirling, mass was as usual celebrated in the chapel of Holyroodhouse; and many of those persons who still adhered to the Catholic faith repaired thither to perform their wonted devotions.‡ But many of the brethren be-

\* Knox. p. 387.

† Ibid. p. 366.

‡ Ibid. p. 393.

A. C. 1563.

Disturb the  
service in  
Holyrood  
chapel.

ing sore offended by this heterodox practice, consulted how they might redress such enormity; and some of the most zealous and upright in religion were appointed to wait upon the Abbey. The mob, therefore, rushed in, and, in a tumultuous manner, interrupted the service, and gave the greatest alarm to the audience. Andrew Armstrong and Patrick Cranstoun, two of the ring-leaders, were seized, and a day appointed for their trial.

Knox, who deemed their cause too meritorious not to embark in it himself, and to screen the accused from danger, wrote a circular letter, summoning all the true professors of the new doctrines, and all who cared for the preservation of the new church amidst these imminent dangers, to assemble at Edinburgh on the 24th of October, the day of the trial, to comfort and assist in setting forward the *true religion*. Copies of this circular were despatched to every town and province. One of those letters was laid hold on, and sent to the Queen. It was construed by the cabinet council as importing treason, and Knox was to be prosecuted for that crime. The nobility were invited to assemble, in order to give an air of greater solemnity to the trial. Luckily for Knox, his judges had all been involved in similar guilt; and John could have retorted an accusation of usurping and defying the Queen's authority upon every one of them. Knox, as might have been expected, was acquitted, and the regal authority despised.\* The

\* Knox, p. 493. The nobility absolved John Knox, and praised God for his modesty.

regal power was surely low enough, when Knox durst assert with impunity, that "*there were* <sup>1</sup> *evident signs of obduracy and harder* <sup>s</sup> *sin in the Queen, than Peter could have* <sup>d</sup> *in Simon Magus. Every idolater ought to* <sup>c</sup> *the death; but the Queen is an idolater.*"\* The consequence was easily drawn. Railing against the dreaded marriage of the Queen with a Catholic prince, Knox says, "Note the day, and bear witness hereafter, my lords, whenever the nobility of Scotland, who profess the Lord Jesus, consents that an infidel (and all papists are infidels) shall be head to our sovereign, ye do as far as in you lieth to banish Christ Jesus from this realm; yea, to bring God's vengeance upon the country."†

The Queen called Knox, and reproved him for meddling with things that he had no concern with. But Knox had concern with every thing; and, by his rude, blustering, wild, and fanatical jargon, drew tears in abundance from a lady and a queen, in whose defence, if chivalry had been left in the land, a thousand swords had leapt from their scabbards, to chastise the brutal insolence of the insulting savage.

The Queen now, from the acquittal of Knox for writing his seditious letter, seeing still more clearly the opposition that would be made to her contracting a marriage with any foreign or Catholic prince, was the more solicitous to continue on good terms with Elizabeth, though she very well

† Knox, p. 412.

† Ibid. p. 389-391.

A. C. 1563.


 Overtures  
from France.

saw, that Queen meant only to amuse her, and to throw difficulties in the way.\* Meantime, France, jealous of too strict amity betwixt the Queens of England and Scotland, sent an embassy to Mary, requesting a renewal of the ancient alliance between France and Scotland; and in order to induce her thereto, the arrears of her dowry were instantly paid, and punctual remittances promised for the time coming. Pensions and privileges formerly granted to Scotchmen were to be restored, or even extended.†

Elizabeth's  
duplicity.

These offers, coming from her mother-in-law, Mary considered as proceeding more from selfishness than from real kindness; and therefore paid little attention to them. Yet these overtures from France probably induced Elizabeth to promise, by her resident Randolph, that if Mary consented to be directed in her marriage by the counsel of Elizabeth, that Princess would cause inquiry to be made concerning Mary's right to the succession of the English Crown; and to have that right declared, if it were found just and legal.‡

After much affected reserve and mystery, Elizabeth ventured to propose, as husband to a Queen courted by so many Princes, Robert Lord Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester, Elizabeth's own favourite, or rather paramour.||

That proposal was no less degrading to Mary than it was fictitious and basely dissembling on the part of Elizabeth, who would by no means have consented to have been severed from the object of

\* Keith, p. 249.

† Ibid. p. 244.

\* ‡ Ibid. p. 243.

|| Ibid. p. 248.

her attachment ; but by this feint she hoped to ward off Mary's marriage, as she had already done for the three past years.

A. C. 156

Mary, with becoming dignity, complained of the disrespect shewn her by the incongruous proposal, yet without saying any thing derogatory or uncivil of the Earl of Leicester.\*

Mary had kept up a correspondence with her aunt the Countess of Lennox, and with her husband the Earl, (who had been expelled from Scotland in the year 1544, during the regency of the Duke of Chatelherault) ; and on account of that correspondence, both the Earl and Countess of Lennox had been committed to ward, by orders of the Queen of England.

Mary had good reason to cultivate the friendship of her aunt, formerly Lady Margaret Douglas, who, by the specious arguments of English lawyers, was Mary's most dangerous rival in claim of the English succession, as being the daughter of the eldest sister of Henry VIII., who had married the Earl of Angus, after the death of James IV. ; whilst Mary was the grand-daughter of said Princess, but in the direct line of succession.† Mary, therefore, bethought her that, if she must needs marry a subject, it were better to make choice of her cousin Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, the son and heir of Lady Margaret, and thereby prevent any litigation that might arise from that rivalry ; besides, Lord Darnley professed the Catholic religion.

\* Keith, p. 252.

† Cambden, p. 389.



A. C. 1564.

Mary, therefore, invited Mathew Earl of Lennox into Scotland, under pretence of restoring him to his ancient hereditary estate, but, in reality, to advise with him upon these particulars.\* Lennox obtained from Elizabeth permission to return to Scotland, who also gave him letters to the Queen of Scotland, recommending to her both Lennox and his cause. At the same time, Elizabeth, with her usual inconsistency, warns Mary that Lennox's coming to Scotland might create her trouble, by renewing the disagreement between Lennox and the Hamiltons. That caution displeased Mary, and elicited a sharp answer, which interrupted the correspondence between the Queens, until Melvil, sent from Mary, renewed the exterior or semblance of friendship, which was all that had ever existed between them; and indeed all that the conduct of Elizabeth had ever deserved.

Lennox comes  
to Scotland.

Lennox arrived in Scotland, and met with the most gracious reception from the Queen; but the surmises, that the Queen had some intention of marrying Lord Darnley, caused the Duke of Chatelherault to dread the downfall of himself and his relations, if his enemy should acquire such exaltation; and already the Queen's authority became necessary to suppress the bursting flame of the ancient feud.†

The family of Douglas was also apprehensive, that Lennox would claim the earldom of Angus, in right of his wife, who was the sole heir of her father, the Earl of Angus; but it seems the Queen

\* Camden, p. 306.

† Keith, p. 200.

and Lennox thought it advisable to confirm the estate and honours of Angus to the male representative, who was yet a minor,\* and that in order to secure the consent and favour of the Earl of Morton, and other friends of the family of Angus, to the marriage of the Queen with Lord Darnley.

A. C. 1564.

A conference in regard of the Queen's marriage was held at Berwick, in November, by mutual consent of the two Queens. Elizabeth's commissioners were the Earl of Bedford and Mr. Randolph : Mary's were the Earl of Murray and Maitland of Lethington. The English deputies simply offered the Earl of Leicester, as a person proposed by their Queen, fitting to preserve the amity of the two kingdoms ; but Mary's commissioners required, that if their Queen should stoop to so unequal a match, Elizabeth should declare her cousin to be the presumptive heir to the crown of England. The other party had no powers to grant such a concession, which they knew their mistress would never agree to. From the whole shuffling and delay, it appeared that Elizabeth was as unwilling to part with her favourite, as Mary was to accept of him. Mary at length brought the matter to issue, by offering, through Mr. Randolph, to accept of Leicester, on the condition which Elizabeth had already promised, namely, that Mary's claim to the English succession should be fairly examined and declared.†

Elizabeth, in this dilemma, consented to the earnest desire of the Countess of Lennox, that her son,

\* Keith, p. 268, note b.

• Ibid. p. 269.

A. C. 1564.



Lord Darnley, might be allowed to visit Scotland. Elizabeth knew well Darnley's hopes, and she was no stranger to the reports of Mary's sentiments in favour of Darnley ; and she hoped, by sending Darnley to Scotland, she might extricate herself from the promise she had made, and so to manage her subject, Darnley, as to procrastinate the negotiation for the marriage at her pleasure.\* Mean-  
time, she unravels her real intention, and her fictitious promise, by saying, that if Mary followed her advice in espousing Leicester, that nobleman should be advanced to all possible honours ; but as to the inquiry and declaration of Mary's title to the English succession, neither should be done, until she herself should be married, or should notify her determination never to marry. Whereupon the Queen of Scots, justly offended, and bursting into tears, complained that her cousin Elizabeth had only cajoled her, and made her spend time in idle negotiation.†

In December, the Queen convoked a Parliament, in which she made a speech, shewing the reasons for repealing the act of forfeiture passed against the Earl of Lennox in the year 1545, and restoring him again to the honours and estates of his ancestors ; the rather, that this restoration had been solicited by her sister, the Queen of England. Murray had his earldom, and Grange, Ormiston, and Melrose, their lands confirmed to them in this Parliament.‡

In the beginning of February following, Henry

\* Keith, p. 270.

† Ibid. App. 188.

‡ Ibid. p. 267, 268.

Stewart, Lord Darnley, arrived in Scotland, and was introduced to the Queen, at the place of Wemyss. This young nobleman was then in the nineteenth year of his age, and therefore in the full bloom and vigour of youth. He was of an elegant person, and had acquired graceful manners, and all those exterior accomplishments, which are apt to dazzle and to win the fair sex. We need not therefore wonder that, when these attractions were combined with political motives, and abetted by the resentment which Mary felt, from the wily craft and infamous dissimulation of Elizabeth, the tender passion might steal too easily on her unwary heart, before she perceived the disproportion of Darnley's mental qualities; his defective prudence, his weak judgment, his shallow penetration, his excessive pride, haughtiness, arrogance, vanity, irascibility, and inflexible obstinacy. Mary was certainly fascinated, though not by the incantations of witchcraft, as the vulgar imagined.\* Yet she behaved with such circumspection, as to deceive the penetration of Randolph,† who had not the least suspicion that she meant to marry Darnley, until Lethington was despatched to solicit the consent of Elizabeth to the match.

Castlenau, the French ambassador, was also employed to procure the approbation of the King of France and his mother.‡ As Mary and Darnley were in the second degree of consanguinity, William Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane, was sent to Rome, to obtain a dispensation for the intended

A. C. 1565.

Darnley is permitted to follow.

Gains the Queen's favour.

\* Keith, p. 283.

† Ibid. p. 273.

‡ Castlenau, p. 464.

A. C. 1565.



A dispensa-  
tion from  
Rome for  
their mar-  
riage.

Queen Eliza-  
beth seems  
dissatisfied  
with the  
match.

marriage.\* Mary displayed all her address likewise, to gain the consent and approval of her subjects for that union, by promises, gifts, and titles conferred. She easily obtained the assent of her French friends, who perceived that, if they acquired no benefit from a new alliance with her, neither had they any thing to fear from their rivals gaining new strength by the proposed match. The dispensation from Rome was also procured; but the Queen of England, although she had paved the way for that union, though it could do her no manner of harm, though it delivered her and her kingdom from the danger of a foreign alliance;† nevertheless, by a strange hypocrisy and malicious stratagem, she affected surprise and indignation at what she called Mary's precipitancy, and immediately despatched Mr. Throgmorton, as envoy-extraordinary to the Queen of Scots, to notify her displeasure, and the marked disapprobation of her council in regard to the intended marriage.‡ She imprisoned the Countess of Lennox, and ordered Lennox and his son to return immediately to

\* Spottiswood, p. 189.

† Knox thinks Elizabeth was glad at the heart that the match was like to take place, p. 435. Buchanan says, she was not averse to the union, but wished to have had the merit of making the agreement. *Non tam repugnabat, quam se auctorem credi volebat*, p. 339. Castlenau says, it was wholly her own work, p. 462. The letters of her own ambassadors shew, that her opposition was all grimace. Mr. Throgmorton says to Cecil, that he is afraid some person might give Queen Mary intelligence, that her proceedings with Darnley were not so ill taken by Elizabeth as he (Throgmorton) pretended in his negotiations; Keith, p. 280. Randolph is afraid that Lady Lennox may have informed Queen Mary, that all that Queen Elizabeth intended by her opposition, was to make them afraid, and to cause them to finish their business quickly; Keith, p. 288.

‡ Keith, p. 276.

England, under pain of forfeiture of their lands. Throgmorton was, moreover, to advise the Lords to withstand the marriage, until Darnley gave a bond of security for the maintenance of the reformed creed. Elizabeth's principal view, in all this perplexed and crooked policy, seems to have been to create dissension amongst the nobility, and thereby keep Scotland under her command.

A. C. 1562.



Mary used all her endeavours to gain Murray's consent; but Murray, for many reasons, kept aloof. He, perhaps like Elizabeth, was unwilling that the Queen should ever marry; and, probably, the seeming opposition of Elizabeth might have duped Murray and his chief associates, Chatelherault, Argyle, Glencairn, and Rothes.

Murray re-  
fuses his con-  
sent.

But while Mary exerted her influence to conciliate all parties to the accomplishment of her wishes, Lennox, and his son Darnley, both weak heads and bad politicians, by their folly, created enemies to themselves, and obstructions to the match they so much desired.\* Lennox, soon after his arrival in Scotland, began to make confederacies with the greatest enemies of Murray; and Darnley ventured to utter a grumble at the extensive domains that Murray had obtained from the Queen's bounty. Murray perceived that, from the return of Lennox, the Queen's kindness towards himself had gradually diminished, and that Darnley had now entirely supplanted him in the Queen's confidence (which, indeed, his subsequent conduct proved that he had never deserved), and that

\* Keith, p. 274.

A. C. 1565.

Darnley had conceived a strong aversion to himself. He therefore determined never to be instrumental in raising a person to power which would probably be employed for the purpose of effecting his own ruin.

Darnley dis-  
gusts the  
nobles.

Darnley had too little solidity to bear his good fortune ; and the haughtiness and imperious air he assumed, naturally drew upon himself the contempt which he manifested for others.\* What, above all, disgusted the nobility, was a familiar association which he had formed with David Riccio, a person whose elevation and manners had already given offence to many of the lords.† Riccio was the son of a musician in Turin, who, having no patrimony to bestow on his children, instructed them in his own science, in which Riccio made considerable proficiency. In hopes of bettering his fortune, he went to the town of Nice, where the Duke of Savoy then kept his court. From thence he came to Scotland, in the suite of Mons. Moret, ambassador of said Duke to the Scottish court. His skill in music first recommended him to the notice of Queen Mary, who was an adept in that science ; and, finding Riccio a person of some talents, employed him, as secretary, to write her French letters. He thus crept into her favour. A favourite has few friends. Lethington found his credit with the Queen impaired by this rival. Many of the courtiers envied, hated, or despised him. His recommendations, however, were observed to have some influence with the Queen,

\* Keith, p. 273.

† Ibid. p. 268, note a.

and, therefore, many suitors and expectants applied to him. Among others, even Darnley became hand-and-glove with this new man, in hopes to ingratiate himself still more with the Queen, but without perceiving the scorn he incurred from the nobles.

A. C. 1565.

About Easter, this year, one Sir James Tarbat, a priest, was arrested for having said mass, committed to the tolbooth, and, without farther trial, was clothed with sacerdotal vestments, and carried to the market-cross, where he was set up, with the chalice bound to his hand, and himself fastened to the cross, where he remained for the space of an hour, pelted by the rascally mob, and was thence carried back to the prison. But this was neither deemed illegal, nor sufficient punishment. Next day, he underwent a mock trial (we are not told who were the judges or the jury): but Knox complains that the sentence was too lenient; for whereas death was deserved by the offence, yet he was only remanded to the market-cross, where he stood three or four hours, guarded by the common hangman, and pelted, by the meanest rabble, with the vilest missiles.\* Let this be read by the latest generations, as an eternal monument, and a genuine specimen, of the spirit which raised, guided, and propagated the Scotch Reformation!

Barbarous  
persecution.

The Earl of Bothwell, who, two years before, had been accused by the frantic Earl of Arran of a conspiracy against the life of Murray, and had absconded ever since in foreign countries, returned

Bothwell re-  
turns from  
exile.

\* Knox, p. 436.



A. C. 1565.



to Scotland.\* Murray was offended, and inquired of the Queen if it was by her will or advice that Bothwell had returned. The Queen endeavoured to appease Murray, but he insisted on a trial. The 2d day of May was appointed. Bothwell durst not appear, in opposition to a man who came to the place of trial attended by seven or eight hundred armed men. The Laird of Riccarton protested that the personal absence of Bothwell should not be prejudicial to him, since not justice, but violence, was arrayed against him. Bothwell again retired to France.

The Queen wrote to the Lords, to come to her at Stirling, for two purposes: the first, to gain their consent to the marriage; the second, that they might witness the titles of honour which she intended to confer on Darnley, preparatory to the still higher dignity to which she meant to raise him.† The Earl of Murray arrived at Stirling on the 4th of May, and was received by the Queen with every mark of attention and respect. He was desired to subscribe a writ, containing a full approbation of the Queen's marriage with Darnley, which he refused to do. That writ, however, was subscribed by thirteen of the nobility.

Elizabeth's  
ambassador  
arrives, to  
prevent the  
Queen's mar-  
riage.

Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was expected daily to arrive in Scotland from Queen Elizabeth, and Lethington was ordered to detain him at Edinburgh until the creations were finished; but Throgmorton pushed on, and arrived at Stirling on the morning of the 15th of May, the very day on which

\* Keith, App. p. 160. Knox, p. 438.

† Ibid. p. 438.

the ceremonies were to take place, which he was desirous to hinder.\* He hastened to the Castle, but found the gates shut against him. He pressed for admission, but was told that he must retire for some time to the lodging which was appointed for him. About two o'clock P.M., the Lords Erskine and Ruthven called on Sir Nicholas, and brought him to the Queen, to whom he immediately delivered Elizabeth's instructions, the sum of which is already related. Mary defended her proceeding with becoming spirit, and cogent argument, but in terms the most respectful to the Queen of England. She said that she had chosen the person to whom Elizabeth could not have had the least reasonable exception, and that she had even very exactly followed her prescription, notified to her by her ambassador Mr. Randolph, viz. *that she might make choice of any person within the realms of England or Scotland*. She added, that, in deference to her sister of England, she would delay her marriage for some months.

A. C.



The Lord Darnley then received, in presence of Throgmorton, and of the greater part of the Scotch nobility, the honours of knighthood and baronage, by the title of Lord Ardmanach; and, lastly, he was belted Earl of Ross: after which, he made fourteen knights.† He was, however, prevented from being created, the following day, Duke of Albany, by the tenor of Elizabeth's commission. When this delay was announced to Darnley by Lord Ruthven, he is said, in a frenzy of anger, to

Darnley is raised to high honours.

\* Keith, p. 278 ; App. p. 160.

† Ibid. App. p. 160.

**A. C. 1565.**  


have drawn his dagger, and attempted to stab the informer.

The Queen's marriage with this many-titled nobleman was propounded in council. Many consented, on condition that the new religion should be protected. Many more, willing to shew their loyalty to the Queen, gave their suffrages unconditionally. Another convention was appointed to be held at Perth for the same object.

A report was circulated, that a conspiracy was formed on the part of Darnley to assassinate Murray at the Perth convention. A counter-rumour was spread, that a plot was formed by Murray, Chatelherault, and Argyle, to carry Darnley prisoner into England, or to murder him; to confine the Queen in Lochleven, and to seize the reins of government. As all these conspiracies are alleged and contradicted, and as none of them were carried into effect, they are of little importance to history. It is, however, certain, that the Queen and council issued a mandate to the Earls of Murray and Argyle to declare the names of the persons who informed them of a conspiracy against the life of the Earl of Murray, otherwise they themselves should be held as the authors of that rumour. But as it appeared to her Highness and her council that Murray's purgation in that behalf was insufficient, the Queen commanded and charged the said Earl of Murray to appear before her, and answer to the charge, giving him, at the same time, a safe-conduct.\* Murray did not choose

\* Keith, App. p. 109.

to obey the summons ; but he, with the Duke of Chatelherault, the Earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Rothes, and the Lords Boyd and Ochiltree, consulted and formed confederacies among themselves, and implored the protection of the Queen of England. A. C. 11

Mary, on her part, in order to provide against any sudden disturbance from the discontented Lords, issued a proclamation on the 15th of July, certifying that her good subjects should not be molested on account of religion ; and at the same time, soliciting them to repair to her in armour, for the protection of her person, and that under pain of being held as confederated with her disobedient subjects.\* The Queen was promptly and cheerfully obeyed : The confluence of her subjects from all quarters proved her strength and popularity. Lord Gordon was also released from prison, and his honours and estates restored to him, which was a powerful protection to Mary in the north.† Bothwell, who had hitherto faithfully served the Queen, was recalled home ; as was also the Earl of Sutherland.

The Queen being now strengthened by so numerous a guard of her subjects, breathing loyalty and affection, she judged this was the proper time for effecting that union which she had so ardently desired, and could now realize in triumph, over all contradiction and opposition.‡ Having, therefore, added to Darnley's honours a new one, peculiar to the Scottish royal family, by creating him Duke of Albany, she married him on the 29th day of July.

The Queen  
marries  
Darnley ;

\* Keith, p. 298.

† Knox, p. 447.

‡ Keith, p. 507.

A. C. 1565.



nd proclaims  
im King.

The marriage was performed in her chapel of Holyroodhouse, by the Dean of Restalrig, according to the rites of the Catholic church, between five and six o'clock in the morning. The Queen assisted afterwards at the celebration of mass ; but it seems her bridegroom did not accompany her at that service. During the splendid entertainment of the day, the Queen was served by the Earl of Athol as sewer, by the Earl of Morton as carver, and by the Earl of Crawford as cup-bearer. The following day, the Queen's husband was, by her Majesty's order, proclaimed King, with sound of trumpet, at the market-cross of Edinburgh.\* The conferring of that title by her private authority, without an act of Parliament, seems justly to have been considered as an over-stretch of power ; but though the malcontents sent forth, throughout the kingdom, their complaints of this grievance, and of the danger of religion, they had the mortification to observe that their murmurs were disregarded, and their discontentment attributed to chagrin, envy, jealousy, and rancour against those who had supplanted them in favour or fortune, rather than to patriotism or zeal for religion ;† and the title of King was readily acquiesced in by the greater part of the nation.

The discon-  
tented Lords  
apply to  
Queen Eli-  
zabeth.

The discontented lords had already armed themselves in rebellion ; but their Majesties had also taken the necessary measures to crush their strength, before they had time to poison the minds of loyal subjects, or to sow the seeds of sedition. The re-

\* Knox, p. 448.

† Keith, 308. Knox.

bels, perceiving their weakness, implored the aid of Elizabeth (the benefactress of rebellious subjects of neighbouring kingdoms), and in the meantime retired to Argyleshire. A. C. 1565.

On the first of August, Murray was again summoned to court, in order to answer to the charges laid against him, and that under pain of declared rebellion ; and for non-compearance, sentence of outlawry was pronounced against him. The Earl of Rothes and Kirkaldy of Grange were ordered to enter themselves prisoners in Dumbarton Castle, and James Haliburton, Provost of Dundee, in the Castle of Dunbar, within five days.

Meanwhile Elizabeth, to perplex Marystill more, sent her a new message, redoubling the declaration of her displeasure at the choice Mary had made of a husband, and the precipitancy with which she had hurried on that business. She also reiterated her commands to Lennox and his son, whom she still considered as her subjects, to return immediately to England. The person whom she chose to carry these behests was a Mr. Tamsworth, a gentleman of her chamber, remarkable for his petulance and insolence ; accomplishments which probably, in the mind of his mistress, qualified him for his embassy. He would not deign to give the new King any other title than that of Lord Darnley ; and he refused to accept of a passport because it was signed by the King, whom he would not acknowledge as such. For want of such passport, Tamsworth was detained for some days by Lord Hume at his castle. Being set at liberty, he returned home in very ill humour.

Elizabeth orders Lennox and his son to return to England.

A. C. 1565.

The malcontents, perceiving the far superior strength of the King and Queen, retired to Argyleshire;\* and although they had received from England an aid of ten thousand pounds, their force seems only to have amounted to a thousand horsemen.† The Earl of Athol was despatched, as Lieutenant, towards Argyleshire, against the rebellious faction; and the strength of Inverness, Nairn, Elgin, Forres, Banff, Aberdeen, Kincardine, Forfar, Perth, and Strathern, was summoned to join him at Lorn, on the 20th of September.

The rebel  
Lords are  
forced to re-  
tire south-  
wards,

The King and Queen, with a formidable array, advanced, on the 25th of August, towards Linlithgow, Stirling, and Glasgow. The Queen rode with loaded pistols; the King with gilded armour.‡ The rebels came to Paisley; but perceiving their weakness, slipt cautiously past the royal army, and took their route towards Edinburgh, hoping to rouse the inhabitants of that city to join their party;|| but the Queen suspecting the loyalty of Douglas of Kilspindie, the former provost, had ordered the town-council to depose him, and elect another in his room; which order had been obeyed, to the great annoyance and disappointment of the malcontents; who, notwithstanding their promising, by beat of drum, high pay to such as would enlist under their banners, and notwithstanding the exerted eloquence of Knox, which, it was hoped, would

\* Keith, p. 314. † Knox, p. 448. ‡ Keith, App. p. 164.

|| Keith, p. 315. The principal persons of the malcontents were, the Duke of Chatelherault, the Earls of Murray, Glencairn, and Rothes; the Lords Boyd and Ochiltree; the Lairds of Grange, Cunningham-head, Belcomie, and Lawers; the Tutor of Pitcur; the Lairds of Barr, Carnel, Dreghorne, and Pittarrow. comptroller.

inspire a martial spirit, few, very few recruits could be obtained. The party, therefore, marched southwards, sending repeated offers of submission to their Majesties, which being clearly known to be feigned, in order to gain time, and to watch a proper opportunity of better success, met with the neglect which they deserved.

A. C. 1565.

The King and Queen passed through several places in the heart of the kingdom; secured the strongholds of the rebellious lords; caused disaffected persons to subscribe a bond for the defence of their Majesties; and fined the town of Dundee in two thousand merks, for having favoured the rebels.\* Their Majesties, in the beginning of October, followed the insurgents to Dumfries, with an army of eighteen thousand men. The news of the approach of this formidable force so terrified the malcontents, that they precipitately sought an asylum in England.

and seek an asylum in England.

Murray, and Gavin Hamilton, abbot of Kilwinning, were deputed by the fugitives to wait on Elizabeth, who, according to her usual crooked policy and disingenuous caprice, caused those haughty rebels meanly to declare, upon their bended knees, and in presence of the French and Spanish ambassadors, a base falsehood, namely, "that her Majesty had never moved them to any opposition or resistance against their Queen's marriage."† She then banished them from her presence, as traitors and rebels, whom she could not encourage, without setting a bad example to her own subjects:

Elizabeth treats them as they deserve.

\* Keith, p. 316-318.

† Ibid. p. 319, 320.



A. C. 1565.



Chatelherault is pardoned.

The rebels are summoned to a Parliament.

Yet she underhand supported them with money, and pleaded their cause with the Queen against whom they had rebelled.

The Duke of Chatelherault, perceiving that the Queen was not so much incensed against him as against the other lords, who had drawn him into their party, despatched the Abbot of Kilwinning from Newcastle, to make, in his name, humble submission to his Sovereign, and to supplicate his pardon from her Majesty.\* That pardon, though opposed by the King, was, with some difficulty, granted, on condition that he should go to France, and reside there for some time.

The Queen, resolving to act against the other rebellious lords with the rigour they deserved, called a Parliament, to be held in the beginning of February next; and in the end of November, a summons of treason was executed against the banished lords, commanding them to appear before that Parliament, to answer for their conduct.

The expense attending the marriage, and of the late armaments, and especially of six hundred horsemen, and three companies of foot, who received regular pay, had exhausted a treasury which had few resources. To obtain a temporary supply, some fines and contributions were demanded, and a loan of a thousand pounds was solicited from the city of Edinburgh. The inhabitants were stiff; but the superiority of the town of Leith being mortgaged for security, the sum was advanced.

On the 25th of December, the commissioners of

\* Knox, p. 460.

the new faith assembled at Edinburgh, not to keep the festival of our Lord's nativity, which was accounted superstition, but to require the total destruction of every vestige of the ancient religion, and to demand the payment of their stipends, which had been withheld by their own godly comptroller, Pittarrow, and little better paid by his successor, the Laird of Tullibardine.\* Nor were they to be contented with the total suppression of the old religion, and the establishment of the new; they, moreover, demanded, that the Queen herself should forthwith embrace the latter, and conform to its creed and discipline.

The Queen answered, that the deficiency of the payment of the stipends was no fault of hers, but was to be attributed to the dishonesty of their own crony, Pittarrow; but that, in future, she would cause such order to be taken, that none should have cause to complain. To change her religion, which she was convinced was the truth, would be to abandon her God, the peace of her conscience, and her hopes of happiness in a better world; it would even be contrary to her honour and interest in this world, since her apostacy would give sorrow and high offence to her nearest and dearest friends on the continent.

Mary still designed, in the ensuing Parliament, to punish, in an exemplary manner, the refractory lords; but these lords had many friends, who, for various reasons, espoused their cause, and solicited their pardon.† Many were allied to them by blood,

A. C. 1560

Extravagan-  
of the refor-  
mers.

1560.

\* Knox, p. 462.

† Keith, p. 320.

A. C. 1566.

Plot of the  
rebel Lords.

and more by religion. Several were averse to a Parliament being held. The Earl of Morton, with some others, dreaded a revocation of grants made during the Queen's minority;\* others were afraid of being called to account for the ecclesiastic property, which they had seized during the change of religion. All these joined their consultations, how they might effect an alteration of the court party. One chief expedient (which probably was suggested by the English court), was to foment the dissensions which had arisen between the King and Queen, from the improper conduct of the former. Another contrivance was to get the Secretary Riccio removed out of the way. The business was chiefly entrusted to the Earl of Morton, who in every deed of mischief had a heart to resolve, a head to contrive, and a hand to execute. That Earl employed his cousin, George Douglas, who was also bastard uncle to the King, and continually about his person.† Douglas failed not to infuse into the King's mind all the sinister suspicions which the discontented party abundantly suggested, and especially, that the favour and counsels of Riccio were the principal bar to his Majesty's obtaining the matrimonial crown.

Sir James Melvil, who possessed much of the Queen's confidence, strongly seconded the solicitations of the fugitive lords, and of their friends. Murray even stooped so low as to court the intercession of Riccio, by a letter full of repentance, with fair promises, and enclosing a precious dia-

\* Keith, p. 326.

† Ibid. p. 327.

mond.\* Riccio the more readily complied with Murray's request, as he perceived he had of late incurred the King's displeasure and frown.

A. C. 1566.

All these solicitations had less influence with Mary, than a letter from Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, replete with solid sense and cogent argument.† That gentleman hated the intrigues of Cecil, and warmly espoused the title of Mary to the succession of the English crown. He represented to the Scottish Queen, that the pardon of the refractory lords, now humbled and penitent, would both be an excellent mean of uniting and securing to her the hearts of all her own subjects, and of gaining the suffrages of the greater part of the English nobility to her just claim of succession to the English throne, as the clemency of Princes, above all others, allures and wins the hearts of the people.

Letter of Sir N. Throgmorton in favour of the rebels.

The sound reasoning of this letter, as well as the high opinion which the Queen entertained of the wisdom of its author, added to her own nature (says Melvil), more inclined to mercy than rigour, made her lean towards following the salutary advice ; and in consequence thereof, she prorogued the Parliament from the 4th of February to the 7th of April.

In the beginning of February, arrived in Scotland a Monsieur Rembouillet, with a deputation from the King of France, to invest King Henry with the order of St. Michael. The ceremony was performed, with great solemnity, in the chapel of Holyroodhouse, on Sunday the 10th of February ;

\* Keith, p. 325.

† Ibid. p. 322.

A. C. 1566.

Contrary advice from France.

and Rembouillet afterwards returned to France, well rewarded.

Another messenger from the same court arrived soon after, with despatches to dissuade the Queen from shewing any favour to the rebel lords. "This advice," says Sir James Melvil, "proceeded chiefly from the Cardinal of Lorrain."

Randolph writes to Cecil (we know not well on what authority) that the *Roman Catholic Princes had all banded together to root out the new reformation*.\* That pretended league, alleged by modern historians to have been made at Bayonne, is supported by no solid document; much less is it proved that Queen Mary signed any such combination, although it is highly probable that she was influenced by the Cardinal to change her sentiments with regard to the fugitive lords. "She was loath," says Melvil, "to offend her relations of the house of Guise."

A meeting of Parliament appointed for the 12th March.

The Queen having altered her mind, appointed the meeting of Parliament for the 12th of March. On the 7th of that month, she, accompanied with the nobility then at court, went to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, to elect the Lords of the Articles, and to prepare the matter to be discussed in Parliament. She invited the King to assist there also; but he, having made other engagements, went down to Leith, attended by seven or eight horsemen, to amuse himself.

The faction which favoured the malcontent lords had not been idle, and now perceived the necessity

\* Keith, App. p. 167.

of hastening the execution of their machinations. A. C. 1566.  
While they were ruminating on their plan, the King, instigated by their wicked suggestions, and breathing vengeance against Riccio, disclosed his purpose to Lord Ruthven, and solicited his assistance, with that of his friends, to get rid of that obnoxious person. The proposal was highly agreeable to Ruthven and his party, who hoped that the murder of their enemy would pass for an act of obedience to the King. The King's desire was imparted to Morton, who suffered not Henry's resentment to abate, but wrought on his ambition, and stimulated him to remove the only obstacle to his obtaining the matrimonial crown. Articles of mutual agreement and security were condescended on, and subscribed by both parties.

The King engaged, without the Queen's knowledge, to prevent the attainder of the fugitive lords; to grant them remission of all their trespasses; to restore them to their possessions, and to protect their new creed. On the other part, the seditious faction undertook to procure for King Henry the matrimonial crown, and to defend that right against whatever person should dispute it, not excepting the Queen herself.

The plan of operation for Riccio's murder was now concerted, and their parts assigned to the actors in this diabolical tragedy, in which every circumstance heightened the horror, and enhanced the guilt.

On the ninth of March, at seven o'clock P. M., while the Queen, now far advanced in her pregnancy, sat at supper with the Countess of Argyle,

A. C. 1566.



her natural sister ; her natural brother, the Com-mendator of Holyroodhouse ; Bethune, the Laird of Creich, and Arthur Erskine, in the Queen's cabinet ; some domestic servants also being in the chamber, the King came in, and seated himself by the Queen.\* Presently, the Earl of Morton and Lord Lindsay, with about eightscore of assistants, all in armour, kept and occupied the whole entry of the palace, so as to render it impossible, as they thought, that any one could thence escape. Mean-time Ruthven, newly risen from a sickbed, like a ghastly spectre, and sheathed in complete armour, which he could scarcely bear, entered the Queen's apartment by a back-stair and private passage, followed by three or four sturdy accomplices ; and seeing David Riccio among *the other servants*, said that he had a word with him. The Queen, justly alarmed, asked the King whether he knew any thing of this extraordinary manœuvre, who denied that he did. The Queen then instantly commanded Ruthven to begone from her presence, promising to present Riccio before the Lords of Parliament, that he might be punished, if found guilty of any offence. Riccio fled behind the Queen, whom he laid hold of, as his only refuge ; but Ruthven, without reverence for the Queen's person, or respect for her situation, barbarously struck his victim with a poniard over the Queen's shoulder, overturning her table upon her, while some of his accomplices stood before her with cocked pistols in their hands. They then violently tore him from the Queen into the

Murder of  
Riccio.

\* Letter of Queen Mary to her ambassador in France ; apud Keith, p. 320, &c.

adjoining apartment, where they put an end to his life, mangling his body with fifty-six wounds. A.C. 1566.

The murderous Ruthven, with his bloody poniard, and the mien of a fiend, returned to the Queen, who was still trembling for her life, and upbraided her for tyranny, and allowing herself to be misguided by the counsels of the villain who was now despatched, and by Huntly and Bothwell, who were traitors; whilst the lords, who better deserved such places of honour, were driven from her court and their country; but that to-morrow they would return home, and oppose her misrule; and that the King was willing to remit their offences. It seems that the murderers would gladly have extended their violence to the lords of the court, Huntly, Bothwell, Fleming, and Livingston, and that they had intended to hang Sir James Balfour; but they were afraid the spilling of such noble blood would not have escaped with such impunity as the murder of a poor stranger, and they were therefore permitted to escape.

The conspirators kept the palace strictly guarded, and scarcely permitted the Queen to have the service of her maids. The provost and town of Edinburgh, hearing of the tumult in the palace, came in considerable numbers, demanding permission to see and hear the Queen; but the King, from the window, commanded them to retire, saying, that the Queen and he were well. The Queen was desirous to have spoken to her faithful subjects; but the conspirators threatened \* *to cut her in col-*

The Queen  
detained pri-  
soner.

\* Keith, p. 332. Knox (466) seems exultingly to attribute the murder of Riccio, and its consequences, to the heavenly favour granted to the fasting



A. C. 1568.

*lops, and throw her segments over the walls, if she attempted to address the multitude. Next day, being Sunday, a proclamation was issued by the King, without advice of the Queen, commanding all the prelates and lords convened to Parliament to leave Edinburgh.*

On the same evening, Murray, with the other fugitives, having received the King's letter of invitation, and being informed of Riccio's murder, arrived at Edinburgh, escorted by Lord Hume, and a thousand horse, from the borders. Murray, of course, was well received by the King. The Queen also shewed him favour, hoping that she might prevail on him not to take part with the murderers of Riccio ; but Murray accounted himself under too great obligations to the conspirators, to forget their essential service. He, therefore, next day, assembled all the members of the conspiracy, together with his fellow-fugitives ; and, in this base council, it was deemed expedient that the Queen should be warded in the Castle of Stirling, there to remain till she should approve, in Parliament, or at least pardon, all their wicked conspiracies and deeds, establish their religion, and give to the King the crown-matrimonial, with the whole government of the realm. In case of her refusal, most likely death, or perpetual imprisonment, must

Base council  
of traitors.

and prayer of him and his brethren ; as the preservation of the new creed is professedly the motive that justified the infernal confederacy, and the barbarous assassination. Knox also observes, that, at the King's proclamation, all the Papists willingly fled from Edinburgh. " They had a flea in their nose." He does not inform us what flea bit himself, when, upon the return of the Queen from Dunbar, he fled to hide himself, as did the other conspirators, in whose number he manifestly enrolled himself by his flight.

have been her doom. But the Queen's address triumphed over the baseness and irresolution of Henry, as well as over the more inveterate malice of his colleagues, who had made him the tool of their hellish machinations.

The Queen represented to her husband, that he would be miserably disappointed, if he allowed the rebellious lords to destroy her authority ; that, after having made him the instrument of fulfilling their base purposes, they would despise and abandon him ; and that he would become odious and contemptible to all other princes, especially her allies. By such just and cogent arguments, in spite of the lessons and caveats of his wily confederates, she prevailed on him to dismiss the guards placed on her person, and to make his escape with her that same night, attended only by the captain of the guard, Arthur Erskine, and two others. With this small convoy, they arrived safe at the Castle of Dunbar. Huntly, Marischal, Athole, Caithness, and Bothwell with his numerous followers, joined the King and Queen. The Bishop of St. Andrews, the Lords Hume, Yester, and Sempill, with vast numbers of loyal subjects, crowded to their standard, so that the conspirators trembled in their turn. But, on the 12th of March, being the day on which the fugitive lords were summoned to answer for their conduct, they went to the Tolbooth, and presented themselves, where they well knew there was nobody to accuse them.

The Earls of Glencairn and Rothes, being innocent of the last conspiracy, were received, and pardoned by the Queen. Murray also, and Argyle,

A. C. 156

The Queen  
disappoints  
them.

A. C. 1506.



sued for remission ; and as the Queen knew of their compact with the King, and was desirous to disjoin them from the greater delinquents, she pardoned them, on condition that they should have no confederacy with the last conspirators, and that they should retire to Argyleshire during her pleasure.

The King  
makes a ridic-  
ulous procla-  
mation.

Having remained five days at Dunbar, the King and Queen returned to Edinburgh, accompanied with a numerous array. The King, rendering himself more ridiculous, declared, in presence of the Queen and the lords of the privy-council, and caused to be proclaimed at the market-cross, his innocence of this last conspiracy, and that he never counselled, commanded, consented to, assisted, or approved of the same ; only that, by persuasion of the conspirators, he had, without the knowledge or advice of the Queen, consented to the calling home of the fugitive lords. Every body knew the contrary, and his own handwriting convicted him. The conspirators now, for their reward, were forced to flee to Newcastle ; and Morton, with his associates, notwithstanding all his famed shrewdness and cunning, was obliged to change situations with Murray and his party, by whom he was abandoned, as well as deserted by the King. Such is the friendship of the wicked.

The greater part of this narration, I have taken from a letter of Queen Mary to the Archbishop of Glasgow, her ambassador at Paris,\* which she concludes by ordering the Archbishop to make known

\* Keith. p. 330.



these proceedings to the King and Queen-mother of France, and to her uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine.

A. C. 1566.

Although the Queen at first threatened rigorous prosecution of the assassins, and of all that were concerned in that barbarous villany, yet, before the end of the year, the delinquents were all pardoned. The Lord Ruthven died at Newcastle on the 13th of June, the same year. Only two persons, of no great account, viz. a Thomas Scott, and Henry Yair, a renegade priest, and hanger-on of Ruthven, were hanged and quartered in the month of April. The head of the former was set on the tower of the palace, and that of the latter on the Netherbow.\*

Riccio's assassins pardoned.

The Castle of Edinburgh being chosen as the most commodious and safe place for her Majesty's lying-in, the Queen retired thither in April; and the Earl of Arran was thence removed, and, upon proper caution, was sent to Hamilton Castle during the King and Queen's pleasure.

The Queen retires to the Castle for her confinement.

About this time, mutual messages were sent to each other by the Queens of Scotland and England.

\* Keith, p. 334. Dr. Robertson, before relating the above conspiracy, makes a vehement philippic against the falsehood, deep-rooted superstition, bigotry, and strong prejudices of Popery; and immediately after the detail of Riccio's murder, makes a digressive dissertation upon assassination, which he seems to palliate on account of its prevalence, and, perhaps, because some of the saints of the Reformation were deeply implicated in this crime. I would ask, in what instance has the Doctor shewn the moral improvement and greater innocence introduced by the new doctrine? Has he pointed out more sincere piety and Christian charity, or less hypocrisy? Has he shewn less bigotry and greater tolerance under the new creed, than had existed under the ancient faith and discipline?

A. C. 1566.

The former sent Mr. James Thornton, to request of her sister to banish Morton and Ruthven from her dominions. Elizabeth sent Mr. Henry Killigrew, promising to dismiss them, and to complain that Mary entertained correspondence with O'Neal in Ireland, and harboured a Mr. Ruxbie, a Catholic and a rebel.\* Mary denied both charges; and it was found out, by means of Sir Robert Melvil, that Ruxbie was a spy, sent by Cecil to discover what was passing between the Queen of Scotland and the Catholics of England. The dissembler was to signify to Mary the great affection which the Catholics in England had for her, and which they could not safely reveal to her ambassador, who was a Protestant. Upon the complaint made by Killigrew, Mary caused Ruxbie to be apprehended, together with his cyphers and papers, amongst which was found a letter, written by Cecil, which clearly discovered the roguery.

The Queen, desirous to extinguish the destructive feuds which divided the nobles, and ruined the country, sent for the Earls of Murray and Argyle, to come to the Castle of Edinburgh, that

\* Keith, p. 338. Since I wrote this paragraph, I have found out that Sir James Melvil himself introduced Ruxbie or Roxbie to Queen Mary; Hayne's State Papers, p. 445. It seems also to have been the Bishop of Ross that discovered Roxbie's practices; Goodal's Examination, &c. Preface, xxv. Keith, App. p. 169.—Sir James Melvil seems to have been mistaken when he asserts (p. 78), that Lord Herries, before the Queen went to Stirling, 21st of April 1567, begged the Queen upon his knees not to consent to a marriage with Bothwell. Lord Herries, on the 20th of that month, subscribed, with the other nobility and clergy, the bond by which they approved of Bothwell's acquittal by his peers, and promised to promote his marriage with the Queen. The Melvils were not so friendly to Mary as they seemed to be.

they might strengthen her Council. The discords existing between these lords on the one part, and Huntly, Athole, and Bothwell on the other, were submitted to the Queen as umpire, who effected a reconcilment among them; and they all remained with her during the rest of that summer.

A. C. 1566.  


## CHAPTER IV.

Birth of a Prince—Elizabeth's fictitious congratulation—Mary endeavours to reconcile her husband—He is obstinate—She goes to hold Court at Jedburgh—Visits Bothwell—Falls sick—Is coldly visited by the King—Visits Craigmillar—Rejects a proposal of divorce—Plot for the death of Darnley—The Prince's baptism—Morton and his associates pardoned—Mary visits her husband, sick at Glasgow—Brings him to Kirk of Field, for better air—He is basely murdered—Mary's grief—Her correspondence with Lennox—Bothwell's trial fixed—He is acquitted—Malice of the Queen's enemies—Motives for Darnley's assassination—A Parliament—Disgraceful document—The Queen's abduction, and luckless marriage with Bothwell—Calumnies of her enemies—She laments her indiscretion—Perjury and treachery of some of her Nobles—Murray an insidious calumniator—Her enemies associate, and raise an army—The Queen meets them, with an inferior array, at Carberry Hill—Surrenders—Is betrayed, insulted, and imprisoned in Lochleven—Expostulation of Kirkaldy—Base forgery, the prelude of others, against the Queen.

A. C. 1568.

Birth of a  
young Prince.

ON Wednesday, the 19th of June, between nine and ten o'clock A.M., the Queen was happily delivered of a son, who was destined to sway the sceptre over two rival kingdoms, which were one day to be united and amalgamated for their mutual strength and prosperity. This propitious event was announced by the discharge of the castle-ordnance, and celebrated by public thanksgiving—bonfires, and every demonstration of joy and festivity.

The tidings of this important birth were immediately despatched to England, France, and all

\* Melvil, p. 69. Keith, p. 339, 340.

friendly courts. Sir James Melvil was entrusted with the embassy to Queen Elizabeth, who, though she had just been dancing, and in high glee, upon hearing the news sunk into a deep depression of spirits, reflecting upon this eminent superiority of her rival. Sighs stole from her bosom, tears trickled down her cheek as it leaned on her hand, and she whispered to some of her ladies, that “the Queen of Scots was mother of a fair son, while she was but a barren stock.” But Elizabeth could well dissemble in mien and in words. She received Melvil in her grandest apparel, and with a cheerful countenance, assuring him that the joyful news of the Queen her sister’s having brought forth a fair son had cured her of a severe sickness, under which she had laboured for fifteen days ; she willingly accepted the invitation of becoming godmother to the young Prince, which she would perform by dignified proxy. Melvil hinted, that the present would be a fit time for her Majesty to satisfy all parties concerning the right of succession, which it was desirable might be no longer doubtful ; but Elizabeth waved that proposal, saying that she would satisfy the Queen of Scots in that matter, by the noblemen she meant to send into Scotland for the baptism of her son.

A. C. 1566.

Elizabeth’s  
fictitious con-  
gratulations.

After Melvil’s return to Scotland, Queen Mary, by advice of the two Melvils, sent two letters, by Killigrew, to Sir Robert Melvil ; the one to be shewn to Queen Elizabeth, the other to her secretary Cecil. These letters were written in a complimentary and friendly style, and were chiefly intended to discredit certain communications made

Mary writes  
to the Eng-  
lish court.



A. C. 1566.



by Ruxbie, and some reports spread by Mary's enemies ; but principally to incline Elizabeth to favour a motion, expected soon to be made in the English Parliament, for establishing the order of succession to the crown. Mary also refutes the calumny of her being intolerant to the professors of the new religion ; and asserts, "*that since her return to Scotland, she has neither constrained nor persecuted any person for cause of religion, nor yet minds to do so ; that their credit with her is manifest, since Protestants are entrusted with the principal offices, and bear the chiefest charges in her kingdom, and are principally employed in the most urgent affairs, before all others.*"\*

Dismisses  
Randolph.

Mary having now obtained certain intelligence of Randolph's favouring and assisting the Scottish rebels, and of fomenting misunderstandings between her and her subjects, especially his having remitted three thousand crowns to Lady Murray for the use of the rebels, dismissed him from her dominions ; and explained to Elizabeth her reasons for so doing, in a letter still extant.†

Removes to  
Alloa.

The Queen, wishing to enjoy the salubrious air of the country, for the perfect recovery of her health after her confinement and child-bearing in the Castle of Edinburgh, sailed to Alloa, a beautiful country-seat of the Earl of Mar, whither she was conducted by the proprietor of the place, and by the Earl of Murray.

During her residence there, Monsieur Malvoisin,

\* Keith, p. 342-343.

† Ibid. p. 344.

accompanied by the Bishop of Ross, waited on her Majesty, to congratulate her, on the part of the King of France, upon her safe delivery, and the birth of the young Prince. Monsieur Malvoisin, being formerly acquainted with her Majesty, was very graciously received; and being a person of great prudence and good sense, he endeavoured to bring about a perfect reconciliation between the Queen and her husband. He also interceded, not without success, for the pardon of the assassins of Riccio, for Maitland was soon allowed to wait on the Queen. A. C. 1566.

The King also came to Alloa, and their Majesties were two nights together. From thence, the King and Queen, accompanied by the Earls of Huntly, Murray, and Bothwell, with several others, went upon a hunting recreation to a tract of ground called Megatland, in Tweeddale, now Peebles-shire. Their Majesties returned to Edinburgh, and went both together from thence to Stirling.\* If the King still continued sullen and displeased, entertaining thoughts of leaving the kingdom in a pet, three authentic existing letters evidently prove that the Queen was not in the fault; but, by the most winning condescension, and kind expostulation, both in private and before the lords of the court, strove to make him explain his grievances, and to afford him redress.

The King visits her there.

The Queen endeavours to reconcile her husband.

The first letter is from Monsieur Le Croc, French ambassador in Scotland, to the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Queen's ambassador in France; in which

\* Keith, p. 345, and following.

A. C. 1566.

letter we find, that the King came to Edinburgh on Michaelmas day, in the evening ; their Majesties slept together ; and the Queen, in the most endearing manner, endeavoured to make the King declare the cause of his displeasure ; but being defeated in her kind attempt, she, next day, before the council, where Monsieur Le Croc was present, took the King by the hand, and besought him, for God's sake, to declare if she had given him any offence ; and entreated him to deal plainly, and not to spare her.

The King at last declared, that he had no ground of complaint. Yet, going out of the room, he uttered, “ Adieu, Madam : you shall not see my face “ for a long time.”

The King's  
obstinacy.

The second letter is from the Lords of the Council to the Queen-mother of France, dated the 8th of October 1566, and forwarded by Secretary Lethington, on the 24th of the same month. In that letter, the nobles declare, that upon the King's arrival at Edinburgh, on the evening mentioned in the former letter, he peremptorily refused to enter the Palace, until three or four of the Lords there present with the Queen should be dismissed. The Queen condescended so far, as to go out and meet the King without the Palace, and conducted him to her own apartment, where they continued all night ; during which time the Queen calmly inquired the reason for his wishing to leave the kingdom, but received no answer. Next morning, the Lords of Council, with Monsieur Le Croc, went into the Queen's apartment, expostulated with the King, and professed themselves ready (if they

had offended him) to do him all the justice he could demand. The Queen also entreated him to declare before these Lords in what she had offended him ; and added, that “ *she had a clear conscience that in all her life she had done no action which could any ways prejudice either his or her own honour : but if undesignedly she might have given him offence, she was willing to make amends as far as he should require.*”\* The Lords add, that the King afterwards wrote to the Queen, in a disguised style, and stated two grounds of complaint, namely, the want of authority, and the disrespect shewn him by the nobility. It was easy for the Queen to answer, that he had abused the authority given him ; and that, if he wished the respect of the nobles, he ought to gain it by his affability and courtesy towards them.

A. C. 1566.

The third letter is from Sir Robert Melvil, Mary's ambassador at the English court, to Archbishop Bethune, her ambassador in France. It confirms the statement of the foregoing letters, and blames the ill behaviour of the King, and his obstinacy in not declaring the cause of his discontent, but only venting some general grumblings of his being disregarded by the nobility, and that he cannot get some persons turned out of office.

The Queen, in order to remedy great disturbances and disorders which prevailed on the borders, resolved to pass thither in person, accompanied by the Lords of the court, and to hold a court

Mary, with her court, goes to Jedburgh.

\* All this is very different from the insidious calumnies of Knox and Buchanan, with regard to the Queen's treatment of her husband, and their base slanders of her pretended illicit commerce with the Earl of Bothwell.

A. C. 1566.

Visits Bothwell, who was wounded.

Falls dangerously sick.

The King's neglect.

of judicature in the town of Jedburgh, for the trial and punishment of offenders ; and, for that purpose, sent before her the Earl of Bothwell, her lieutenant in those parts. Bothwell, in a scuffle with those desperadoes, was severely hurt, and was carried to his castle of Hermitage, for the healing of his wounds. The Queen, about eight days after that event, that is, on the 16th of October, hearing that the Earl's wounds were dangerous, and being indignant at the insolence of the outlaws in attacking her representative, and probably having some political business to transact with Bothwell, did not think it below her dignity to ride the distance of twenty miles to visit him ; which she did, and returned on the same day to Jedburgh.\* But whether from the fatigue of the journey, or anxiety of mind caused by the ill behaviour of her husband, she soon after her return fell into a dangerous fever, which at times deprived her of her senses. During her lucid intervals, she edified the assistants by her piety and resignation, recommended her son to the protection of the King of France and the Queen of England ; and besought the Lords, as her last request, to grant liberty of conscience to such as in Scotland still adhered to the faith in which she had lived, and was determined to die.

Care had been taken to acquaint Darnley of the Queen's sickness, but he made no great haste to visit her. Le Croc, the French ambassador, blames this gross neglect. The King, however, at length

\* Keith, p. 352.

paid her a short and dry visit, and departed next morning. A. C. 1566.

The Queen recovered by degrees, and, as soon as she could bear the fatigue of the journey, set out on her return to the capital, by a circuitous route, along the east coast, accompanied with eight hundred or one thousand horse. At Berwick, Sir John Forrester, the deputy-governor, paid her all due honours. She passed on to Coldingham, Dunbar, &c., and came to Craigmillar, where she intended to stay until all was got ready for the baptism of her son. The King also came thither, but their reconciliation seems not to have advanced.

It was during her abode at Craigmillar, that an infernal plot, previously agitated against the life of Darnley, seems to have been matured. An authentic voucher of this nefarious contrivance is found in a solemn protestation of the Earls of Huntly and Argyle.

Argyle declares,\* that in the month of December, after the Queen's great sickness and returning from Jedburgh, her Grace being in the Castle of Craigmillar, accompanied by himself, the Earls of Murray and Bothwell, with Secretary Lethington, that Murray and Lethington came one morning into his (Argyle's) chamber, while he was yet in bed, and remarked, that the murder of Riccio had been committed for the sole purpose of hindering the Parliament to be held, in which Murray and his party were to have been declared rebels, and their estates forfeited; and that, therefore, grati-

The Queen  
visits at the  
Castle of  
Craigmillar.

\* Keith, App. p. 136, 137, 138.

A. C. 1506.

tude required that Murray and his friends should use all their interest for the pardon and recal of Morton, Lindsay, and Ruthven, with their party, by whom that serviceable murder had been achieved. They added, that Argyle having been a gainer by that incident as well as they, he ought to join in the reciprocal good office. The means (they said) the most likely to procure that pardon, was to suggest a divorce between the Queen and her husband, which Lethington had no fear of bringing about, provided Argyle and Huntly did not oppose it. Huntly was then called into the same room, and the proposal repeated, with a promise of Murray and Lethington to get Argyle and Huntly restored to their lands and offices, and that they, with Morton and his company, would stand their firm friends for the future. Argyle and Huntly consented to the proposal. Bothwell also joined them, and all together waited on the Queen; to whom Lethington (after having artfully and insidiously enumerated and exaggerated the acts of ingratitude and ill-behaviour of the King) suggested, if her Majesty would condescend to pardon Morton and his associates, they, with the rest of the nobility, would find means to procure a divorce between her Majesty and a husband who had proved himself so unworthy of the honour conferred on him. The Queen at first seemed not altogether against the proposal of divorce, provided it could be lawfully procured, and without prejudice to her son. Bothwell seemed to think there could be no difficulty in those two conditions. But, upon Lethington's resuming his arguments, and pressing the divorce,

Proposal, of  
a divorce  
from Darn-  
ley,

the Queen interposed, saying, “ I will that ye do  
 “ nothing through which any spot may be laid to  
 “ my honour or conscience : and therefore, I pray  
 “ you, rather let the matter be in the state that  
 “ it is, abiding till God of his goodness put re-  
 “ medy thereto.” This answer appears to have  
 baffled the project of divorce, and the Lords seem  
 to have reverted to a more atrocious, but surer  
 expedient.

Argyle and Huntly continue their protestation  
 thus : “ So, after these premises, the murder of  
 “ Henry Stewart following, we judge in our con-  
 “ science, and hold for certain truth, that the Earl  
 “ of Murray and Secretary Lethington were au-  
 “ thors, inventors, devisers, counsellors, and causers  
 “ of the said murder, in whatever manner, or by  
 “ whomsoever persons the same was executed.”

The fact is, a bond was there at Craigmillar\*  
 drawn up by Sir James Balfour, which, styling  
 the King *a young fool*, and *a proud tyrant*, ex-  
 pressed the determination of the subscribers to  
 prevent him from obtaining the rule over them ;  
 obliged themselves to remove him by some expe-  
 dient or other, and made each declare that he  
 would repute *the deed his own*, by whomsoever it  
 might be done. This instrument was signed by  
 Huntly, Argyle, Bothwell, Maitland, and Balfour.  
 Whether Murray actually subscribed it, or, accord-  
 ing to his usual duplicity, waved the adding his  
 name, is of little moment. It seems certain that  
 he was privy to the plot, was most likely one of

A. C. 1566

rejected by  
 the Queen.

Plot for the  
 death of the  
 King.

\* Ormiston's Confession in Laing, ii. 322, apud Lingard, vii. 476.



A. C. 1566.



The young  
Prince bap-  
tized.

its first contrivers, and surely had no objection to its success. Bothwell, it seems, took upon himself the perpetration of the crime ; the others, to keep him *skaitless* from the consequences.

Great preparations were made for the baptism of the young Prince. A taxation of £12,000 was granted by the States to cover the expenses. The representatives of foreign Sovereigns arrived. The Duke of Bedford, from Queen Elizabeth, brought along with him, as a present from that Princess, a font of gold, weighing 333 ounces, and valued at £1043 : 19s. sterling.\* The Queen repaired from Craigmillar to Stirling ; and on Sunday the 15th of December, at five o'clock P. M., the Prince was carried from his chamber to the chapel by the French ambassador, the Count de Brienne, between two rows of barons and gentlemen. The Earls of Athole and Eglinton, and Lords Sempill and Ross, brought in the apparatus for the ceremonies. At the entry of the chapel, the Prince was received by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, who administered the sacrament of baptism according to the rites of the Catholic church ; the assisting clergy were the Bishops of Dunkeld, Dunblane, and Ross, with the Prior of Whithorn, and other inferior ecclesiastics. The Prince was held up at the font by the Countess of Argyle, in name of, and by commission from the Queen of England. Neither the Duke of Bedford, nor any of the Scottish nobility professing the new creed, entered into the chapel, but stood without the door, like the

\* Stow, apud Keith, p. 337.

Jews without Pilate's hall, lest they should be defiled; whilst some of them, like the Jews, entertained a premeditated purpose of murder. After the baptism, the Prince's names and titles were proclaimed, by sound of trumpet: Charles James, James Charles, Prince and Steward of Scotland, Duke of Rothesay, Earl of Carrick, Lord of the Isles, and Baron of Renfrew. The festivity was celebrated with great splendour. Darnley foolishly remained in the castle, but did not appear, nor take any part in the rejoicing. Nor could he well appear: Elizabeth had forbidden the Earl of Bedford to give him the title of King, and the French agent had been ordered not even to speak to him, until he was reconciled with the Queen.

A. C.

The Lords who had banded against Darnley required and received the subscription of Morton to their iniquitous bond;\* and then they solicited his return, and were joined by Bedford and Castle-nau, in the names of their respective sovereigns. Mary could no longer refuse such powerful entreaty. A pardon was granted to the noble exile, with his associates, on condition that they should not return to Scotland for the space of two years; which condition was soon softened to a prohibition from approaching within seven miles of the court. Morton returned, and was met by Bothwell and Lethington at Whittingham, near where the Lammermuir hills divide the counties of Berwick and Haddington. The subject of their bloody councils seems to have been, the destruction of the unhappy Darnley.

Morton and his associates pardoned.

Bloody council against Darnley.

\* Chalmers, ii. 227. Goodall, i. 282.

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The ambassadors, with their retinues, honoured with rich presents, returned to their respective sovereigns, well pleased with the Queen's courtesy and munificence. Bedford regretted the degraded state of the King.

1567.

Mary visits  
the King,  
dangerously  
ill at Glas-  
gow.

He is brought  
to Kirk-of-  
Field.

The Queen went to spend the Christmas holidays at Drummond Castle, and at the seat of the Laird of Tullibardine ; and the King, during her absence, removed to his father at Glasgow. The Queen returned to Stirling in the beginning of January, where she remained until the fourteenth of that month, when, taking the young Prince with her, she went to Edinburgh. She had not been there above a week, when she learned that the King was dangerously ill. She immediately sent her own physician to him, with a message that she would soon visit him herself. She accordingly set out for Glasgow, and arrived there on the twenty-third of January ; and so cherished and comforted her husband, that all their former mutual affection seemed to have revived, and all misunderstanding or causes of offence to have been forgotten. Every good person rejoiced at the happy reconciliation. As soon as the King was in a condition to be removed, her Majesty caused him to be conveyed in a litter to Edinburgh, for the benefit of the best medical skill ;\* and because the air of Holyrood-house was considered as too damp, he was lodged in a house formerly belonging to the provost of a collegiate church, called the *Kirk-of-Field*, with-

\* Some ascribe Darnley's distemper to poison, given him by his enemies ; others call it the small-pox, which then raged in Glasgow ; while others term it a more ignominious disease.

out the walls of the city, which, standing on higher ground, was supposed to be fanned with a more salubrious air.

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Here the Queen assiduously visited her husband, gave him every mark of her affection, and several nights slept in a chamber beneath where he lay. On the ninth of February, she spent the evening with him, from six till near eleven o'clock, in friendly and endearing conversation. Having engaged to be present that night at a ball given in honour of the marriage of two of her servants, she embraced her husband, put a ring on his finger, and, escorted by a numerous retinue, returned to Holyroodhouse by torch-light.

The conspirators seized the opportunity offered them by the King's lodging at *Kirk-of-Field*. By a door in the city wall, the instruments of their villany had access to the house, sapped the foundations, and placed there a sufficient quantity of gunpowder. The Queen's absence on that night spurred on the assassins to the execution of their plot; and therefore, about three hours after her Majesty had left the *Kirk-of-Field*, that house was blown into the air, with such a tremendous explosion as alarmed the whole city. The inhabitants ran to the place whence the noise seemed to have proceeded. The dead bodies of the King, and of a servant who had slept in the same room, were found lying in an adjacent garden or orchard, without any bruise or mark of violence. Three men and a boy were found buried in the ruins.

Darnley  
murdered.

The circumstance of the King's body having no apparent hurt or wound upon it, gave reason to

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suppose that he had been strangled, and carried out of the house, before fire had been set to the powder ; but no certain proof has been shewn of such suffocation. By such barbarous villany, died King Henry, formerly Lord Darnley, in the twenty-first year of his age. His character has already been sufficiently shewn. Had the endowments of his mind corresponded with his external appearance and genteel accomplishments ; and if his virtue, prudence, and good sense had kept pace with his high fortune and elevation, he might have escaped the snares of the barbarous, deceitful, and unprincipled nobility, above whom he was raised ; and he might have soothed the cares and alleviated the difficulties and sorrows of the amiable and accomplished Queen who had so highly honoured him ; whereas, by his folly and ingratitude, he hastened his own destruction, and contributed to the miseries, persecutions, calumnies, treasons, and jealousies, which embittered the remaining days of a Queen, who deserved the love and obedience of her subjects, and the admiration of the world.

The Queen's  
grief, and be-  
coming de-  
portment.

The Queen, who had so lately been reconciled to her husband, and had shewn him such cordial affection and forgiveness, heard the sad tidings of his cruel death with a becoming demeanour, and acted like a virtuous and innocent woman on that trying occasion. Her chamber, hung with black, and the light of day excluded, expressed the sorrowful state of her mind. Next day, she wrote to her ambassador in France the tragical account of the King's murder, indicating her strong suspicions that the authors of this execrable deed had also intended her

own destruction, though the mercy of God had preserved her. She declared her resolution to discover, and to punish with rigorous vengeance, the base assassins, though it should cost her life.\* On the 12th February, she caused the privy council to issue a proclamation, promising a reward of £2,000 to any person who should reveal the devisers, counsellors, or actual perpetrators of the King's murder, and offering the informer a pardon, though even an accomplice in the wicked deed.†

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The King's body was brought to Holyroodhouse, and embalmed. On the fifth day after the mournful event, it was decently, though privately, interred beside the Queen's father, James V., accompanied by the Justice-Clerk, the Lord Traquair, and divers other gentlemen. The reason for this quiet manner of interment was, that the greater part of the council were Protestants, and would have been unwilling to assist at the usual ceremonies of the Catholic church. ‡

The King's burial.

Before the King's funeral, the Queen (as decency seemed to require) removed to the Castle of Edinburgh, where she remained ten days. On the 21st of February, she, by advice of her council and the physicians, retired to Seaton for the enjoyment of fresher air. She was there visited by Monsieur Le Croc.

The Queen retires to Seaton.

On the fourth night after the proclamation was issued, a bill was posted on the door of the tolbooth of Edinburgh, asserting that the Earl of Bothwell, Mr. James Balfour, Parson of Flisk, Mr. David

Impeaching bills posted.

\* Keith, Preface, p. viii.

† Ibid. p. 368.

‡ Leny's Defence of the Queen.

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Chalmers, and Black Mr. John Spence, were the persons concerned in the King's murder. Various rumours and surmises had been spread concerning the persons suspected of the horrid crime. Some blamed the Earls of Murray and Morton. The latter, at his execution many years after, owned his knowledge of the execrable deed ; and, from what the reader has already seen, in the declaration of the Earls of Huntly and Argyle, there is too great reason to suspect that Murray was neither ignorant nor innocent of the foul contrivance. To the said declaration, Murray indeed made an evasive answer, which is far from being satisfactory.\*

Strong presumptions were justly entertained, that Bothwell and his servants were the immediate perpetrators of the crime ; and some had the assurance to blast the Queen's reputation, by insinuating that she was accessory to the barbarous deed. Some pretend, that the councillors were more zealous in their inquiries after the authors of the libels posted in various places, than in searching for the murderers ; and it is reasonable to think, that as many of the councillors were implicated in the crime, these would naturally wish to throw a veil of darkness over the whole nefarious machination. Yet all that is authentic of the inquiry made after the authors of the placards, is an act of the council, of the 14th of March, for apprehending James Murray, who “ had devisit, inventit, and causit to “ be set up certane payntit papers upon the tolbuith

\* Keith, p. 138, App.

“dure, tending to hir Majestie’s sclander and de-  
 “famation, and swa committand oppin and ma-  
 “nifest treason against her Hieness.” \*

A. C. 1569

The Earl of Lennox, feeling a deep sorrow for the untimely and cruel death of a son on whom the hopes of his family, and the solace of his declining years, rested, was naturally desirous to have his murderers prosecuted and punished; and, for that purpose, opened an interesting correspondence with the Queen.† He requested that her Majesty would deign to assemble the nobility, and, with their assistance, bring the delinquents to justice. The Queen replied, that she had anticipated the purport of his letter, and, before its receipt, had called a Parliament, before which she meant to lay, first of all, the melancholy incident that so nearly concerned her as well as himself; hoping that the wisdom and experience of the noblemen would enable her to find out and punish the regicides. Lennox suggested, that it would be too long to wait for the meeting of Parliament, and that, besides, the case was not a parliamentary business; that the persons pointed out by the bills ought to be imprisoned, their accusers summoned, and a justice-court of her council and nobility formed, that the accused might be punished, if found guilty, or liberated, and their reputation vindicated, if nothing could be proved against them. He repeated the persons accused by the foresaid anonymous bill, and added thereto the names of Francis Bastiane, Jean de Bourdeaux, and Joseph Dauryis, Riccio’s

Lennox’s  
 correspon-  
 dence with  
 the Queen.

\* Keith, p. 374.

† Keith, p. 369–373.



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brother, all which persons, he said, he greatly suspected.

Her Majesty acknowledged the receipt of Lennox's letter of the 17th March, and answered it on the 24th of the same month, informing him that she had no desire to postpone the trial of the persons whom he suspects to be guilty of the atrocious deed; that she had already warned the nobility, and the members of her council, to be in Edinburgh the ensuing week; begging his attendance at the same time, that he may assist at the trial, and bring forward every possible evidence to substantiate the guilt of the persons whom he suspected and inculpated; and that he shall have proof of her good will to have a fair and just trial, and condign punishment inflicted on all concerned in so flagitious a crime.

Time of  
Bothwell's  
trial fixed.

Pursuant to this correspondence, an act of council was passed on the 28th of March, directing the trial of the Earl of Bothwell, and all other persons suspected or delated as principals of, or accessaries to, the murder of the King, to undergo an assize for the said murder on the 12th April following; and warning to be given to the Earl of Lennox, and all other accusers of the said Earl of Bothwell and other suspected accomplices; which warning or summons was published at several public market-places, for the said accusers to appear in the Court of Justiciary on the 12th day of April, and there to do what should be necessary for trial of the said matter.\*

\* Keith, p. 373.

Accordingly, Lennox having received notice of the trial, in order to be present thereat, set out for Edinburgh; but being dissuaded by his friends from assisting at the assize, he stopped at Stirling, and, altering his former strain, wrote to the Queen, begging that the trial might be delayed; alleging bad health, and other fictitious reasons, which were mere shifts. But the Queen, after the previous steps to which she had been urged by Lennox, could not, without great impropriety, have adjourned the Court.\*

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Lennox re-  
quires a de-  
lay.

Meantime, on the 9th April, the Earl of Murray (who, having paved the way for the Queen's ruin, and his own exaltation, was glad for a while to get out of sight), sought and obtained leave to go to France.

Murray slips  
away to  
France.

On the 12th April, the Court of Justiciary was held in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh.† The Earl of Argyle presided as Hereditary Justiciary. He had four assessors, viz. Robert Pitcairn, commendator of Dunfermline, the Lord Lindsay, Mr. James Macgill, and Mr. Henry Balnaves; the two last were Senators of the College of Justice, or Lords of Session.

The jury chosen and sworn were :‡

*Earls*—Rothes, Caithness, Cassillis;

Jury impa-  
nelled.

\* Keith, p. 374.

† Buchanan, and after him Dr. Robertson, complain, that the usual term of forty days was not allowed to elapse between the indictment and the trial. That practice is gratuitously asserted. Fifteen days is now the legal interval between indictment and trial; that space intervened between the 28th of March and the 12th of April. The contrary custom remains to be proved; Keith, i. Note, p. 378.

‡ Keith, p. 377.

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*Lords*—Ross, Sempill, Herries, Oliphant, Boyd:  
*Esquires or Barons*—Master of Forbes, Gordon of Lochinvar, Cockburn of Lanton, Somervell of Cambusnethan, Mowbray of Barnebowgall, Ogilvie of Boyne.

The libel was read.

Bothwell, the accused, was called to the bar. Lennox, and all others, our Sovereign Lady's lieges, willing to prosecute, were also called. Robert Cunningham, on the part of Lennox, protested against the assize, and requested delay. The protest was rejected, as Lennox had urged a summary trial; the Lords of Council had granted it; the prosecutor's advocates insisted on it; and the defendant earnestly craved it.

Bothwell ac-  
quitted.

No person appeared as an accuser; no witness was adduced, and no evidence brought forward. The jury could do nothing but acquit Bothwell, who, in conformity to a wild principle of chivalry, not then extinct, affixed a paper to the cross, offering to fight in single combat against any gentleman who would accuse him of being accessory to the King's murder.

It is objected to the Queen, that Bothwell himself was present, and sat as a member in that meeting of Privy Council which gave directions with regard to the time and manner of his own trial; but it ought to be observed, that Murray, who was justly suspected to be art and part in the hellish contrivance, sat in the same council, and contributed to the passing of that day's act.

It is also alleged, that the Queen, to clear herself from suspicion, ought to have exerted her au-

thority to bring the assassins to justice ; but let any candid and unprejudiced person say, what she could have done, in the circumstances in which she was placed. Notwithstanding the rumours circulated, the bills posted, and the reward offered, no one had come forward to adduce proof, or to substantiate the charges. Lennox alone had lent his name to the accusations, and he had shrunk from the prosecution. She was surrounded by a council, who had plotted the murder, and directed the manner of its execution. They were implicated in the guilt, and deeply interested in avoiding investigation. They had given bond to make common cause with the perpetrators, and to screen them from punishment. They would therefore unanimously assert, that the impeachment of Bothwell and others had arisen from envy and malice, and that the regicide had been perpetrated by villains, either instigated by some private hatred of the King, or with a view to tarnish the fame of illustrious persons, on whom they had dastardly flung the imputation of guilt.

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The Queen's  
conduct justified.

It appears, by the concurrent testimonies of the persons who suffered public and ignominious deaths as being art and part in the nefarious wickedness, that the Earl of Bothwell was the principal agent in that diabolical deed ; \* and this is confirmed by his own dying declaration in Denmark, as related by a respectable merchant, who heard Bothwell, with his dying voice, testify that the Queen was innocent of the King's death, and that only he

Bothwell's  
dying declaration.

\* Keith, App. p. 144.

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himself, his friends, and some of the nobility, were the authors of it. Being pressed to name some of the guilty persons, he named James Earl of Murray, Robert Abbot of Holyroodhouse, the Earls of Crawford, Argyle, Glencairn, and Morton; Lord Boyd, the Lairds of Lethington, Buccleugh, and Grange.

Paris's declaration destitute of credit.

The strongest arguments that the Queen's enemies have able to draw from the examination of the criminals,\* is the pretended testimony of Nicholas Hubert, commonly called Paris; but that declaration contains so many inconsistencies and improbable assertions, and is attended with such suspicious circumstances, that no court of law, ancient or modern, could or would have admitted it as credible evidence. That poor empty man, instead of being examined at the same time that the other criminals were tried, was kept in prison for two years and a half before his examination: which delay affords strong suspicion of sinister views, and leads us to apprehend, that this destitute stranger, worn out with the irksomeness of a prison, might have been easily persuaded to emit, from a promise or a hope of release, any declaration which his examiners might have wished to elicit. Besides, Alexander Hay, clerk to the Privy Council, does not attest before what persons the declaration was emitted, nor at what time he himself extracted this notorial copy; nor what certainty he had, that Hubert, alias Paris, had *marked every leaf with his own hand*. Finally, Bishop Leslie, in his De-

\* Keith, p. 366, &c.

fence of Queen Mary, expressly affirms, “ that this  
 “ Paris, John Hay of Galloway, Powry, and Dow-  
 “ glish, when they were put to death for the said  
 “ crime, took God to witness that the murder was  
 “ committed by the *counsel, invention, and drift*  
 “ of Murray,” (to whom the Bishop addresses this  
 charge ;) “ and further, that they never knew the  
 “ Queen to be participant or aware thereof.”


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Now, this *defence* was published by Bishop Leslie a dozen of years before the death of Buchanan, and certainly before he wrote the part of his history which comprehends this period ; and yet that elegant and acute historian takes no notice of this bold and plain assertion, nor adduces any credentials to confute and silence the Bishop of Ross. Neither does Buchanan attempt to fortify, by Hubert’s testimony, his malevolent narration, in which, as if he had known the secret motions and intentions of the Queen’s heart), he transmits to posterity the infernal tragedy of the King’s murder, as acted by the Queen, though Murray and the other enemies of the Queen (among whom Buchanan was present) found themselves utterly at a loss, in the conferences with the commissioners of the Queen of England, how to fix upon their Sovereign any foreknowledge of the King’s murder. The candid reader will hence know what confidence he can place in Buchanan’s history of this much-injured Queen.

Base malice of the Queen’s enemies.

We have seen that the murder of Riccio had been chiefly planned to hinder a Parliament, in which it was intended that Murray and his party were to have been declared rebels, and their estates

A. C. 1565.

  
 Motives for  
 the King's  
 assassination.

to have been forfeited; and it would seem that Darnley's death had been procured to secure to the conspirators titles and property, which they held by a precarious tenure. Mary had, with prodigal bounty, bestowed upon her favourites, or those whom she wished to attach to her service, a considerable portion of the crown-lands; but the law afforded her the privilege of revoking those grants at any time before she had completed her twenty-fifth year. That epoch was nigh, and the nobles had reason to fear that, before its arrival, Darnley, if alive, would urge the Queen to seize the occasion, and resume what she had thoughtlessly given away. That danger, by Darnley's death, had been removed, and the instrument of removal had been declared blameless.

A Parlia-  
 ment.

The Parliament sat down on the 14th of April.\* On the 16th the Queen was present, and the Lords of the Articles were chosen. The Earl of Mar was discharged of the keeping of the Castle of Edinburgh, which had been committed to Bothwell. On the 19th April, the last day of the Parliament, the new form of religion, which had been urged in the convention of 1560, but had never received the royal assent, was in some degree ratified, with a salvo, that all the lieges should have leave to serve God according to the dictates of their own consciences: a toleration which was ill attended to.

The earldom of Huntly had been forfeited after the battle of Corrichie, and the present Earl had been imprisoned. Murray had also obtained a sur-

\* Keith, p. 378, &c.

reptitious warrant to have the sentence of death executed upon him ; but the Queen had recalled that warrant, and had afterwards made Huntly Lord High Chancellor. The forfeiture was only now formally reversed ; as was also that of the Earl of Sutherland, and of four of the name of Gordon. The grants made to the Earls of Mar, Bothwell, Murray, Crawford, Rothes, Morton, Angus, and Caithness ; to the Lords Herries and Sempill ; to Robert, Abbot of Holyroodhouse ; to Sir James Ogilvie of the lands of Findlater, &c. were finally confirmed.

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The day after the dissolution of Parliament,\* the most part of its members, though persons of the most opposite factions, the most opposite creeds, and probably from opposite motives, combined in subscribing a deed, which, for ignominy and disgrace, has perhaps never been surpassed, but by the trial, sentence, and warrant, that afterwards sent Queen Mary to the block. The tenor and substance of that detestable agreement runs thus :

“ That the subscribers are thoroughly convinced  
 “ of Bothwell’s innocence of the King’s murder,  
 “ and will defend him with their bodies, goods,  
 “ heritages, friends, and kindred, against all future  
 “ accusations, imputations, or slanders, in regard  
 “ of that crime, in whatever form, or by persons  
 “ whomsoever. They, moreover, recommend the  
 “ Earl of Bothwell to the Queen, as the fittest and  
 “ most suitable of her subjects for a husband to  
 “ her Majesty ; and in case her Majesty should  
 “ deign, in preference to foreign Princes, to accept

Disgraceful document.

\* Keith, p. 380, &amp;c.



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“ of said Earl, they, when law and her convenience  
 “ permit, will promote, support, and defend that  
 “ marriage, against all persons who would hinder,  
 “ retard, or disturb the same; and that they will  
 “ spend their lives and properties in defence there-  
 “ of. All this they promise, as they shall answer  
 “ to God: And in failure thereof, they imprecate  
 “ upon themselves the loss of reputation and cre-  
 “ dit, with the deserved imputation of faithless  
 “ traitors.”

There is indeed no great wonder that those who were copartners with Bothwell, in the conspiracy against poor Darnley, should have subscribed this scandalous bond. It was most likely a part of the bargain, that Bothwell, as the price of the murder of the King, should be entitled to marry his widow.\* Cambden says, “ the confederacy so ma-  
 “ naged the matter, as to work up a great part of  
 “ the nobility to comply with the marriage, and to  
 “ set their hands to a writing for that purpose, for  
 “ fear, if Bothwell had sunk from his hopes, he  
 “ should have betrayed the whole bloody secret.”

The Queen  
 urged to  
 marry Both-  
 well.

Crawford says, many of the nobility pressed the Queen to marry Bothwell;† and that Murray especially encouraged her to that match.‡ Though he was out of the country designedly at the time of the subscribing the bond, he very likely did comply with Bothwell's proposal, on purpose to lead him into a snare. It is, however, very strange, as it was very base, that the Queen's friends subscribed the bond, especially the ancient clergy.

\* Apud Keith, p. 382.      † Crawford's Memoirs, p. 13.

‡ Ibid. p. 18.

It is pretended, that on the evening of the day on which the Parliament was dissolved, that is, on the 19th of April, Bothwell invited a great many of the nobility to a supper at one Ainsley's, a taverner; and having surrounded the house with armed men, forced a subscription to the said bond. But this allegation is contradicted by an authentic copy of that bond, deposited in the Scottish College at Paris, attested by the subscription of Sir James Balfour, in his own handwriting, and dated on the 20th of April, the day after the Parliament was dissolved. This date destroys the credit of the story of Ainsley's supper, which, in the Cotton Library, is annexed to the bond. But, besides, had force been used, Bothwell's enemies would not have failed to have made this publicly known, in order to have excused themselves, and ruined the whole wicked contrivance. There can be little doubt of Bothwell's having used all his art and ingenuity to procure subscribers to the bond.

Bothwell having procured this detestable association, began to disclose to the Queen something of his ambitious aim, and to sound her whether he might flatter himself with the hopes of gaining, by humble suit, her hand in marriage; but finding no encouragement of success in that way, and reflecting that the advice of her friends would most probably mar his views, and that even many who had subscribed the bond might change their minds and resile, he resolved to profit by the present aspect of fortune, and, by a bold attempt, endeavour to secure the completion of his wishes.

On the 21st of April, the Queen rode to Stirling,

A. C. 1564.

Bothwell  
carries the  
Queen to  
Dunbar.

to visit the young Prince, her son, who had lately been entrusted to the custody of the Earl of Mar. Bothwell, under pretence of an expedition against the freebooters on the borders, assembled a body of a thousand horsemen; and on the 24th of said month, instead of marching southwards, veered about towards Linlithgow, near which town he met the Queen, with a slender retinue, returning to Edinburgh. He boldly seized her horse's bridle, and led her captive to the castle of Dunbar. Huntly, Maitland, and Melville, who formed part of her suite, were carried alongst with her, but were liberated next morning.

The Queen was detained ten days longer, during which time no attempt was made by the worthless and apathetic nobility to rescue her from the hands of the villain, who, though repelled and reproached by the Queen for his base ingratitude, yet, with unceasing flattery and importunity, harassed his Sovereign, whom he had treasonably made his prisoner. Seeing his diabolical arts still frustrated, he laid before her the iniquitous bond, with the disgraceful subscriptions, the genuineness of which was too well confirmed by the apathy and disloyal neglect of those prostituted names. Mary eyed the hated document with wonder, affliction, and dismay. She saw herself in the power of an unprincipled and determined aristocrat, secluded from counsel, from fidelity, and from protection. She could not deny the services formerly done her by her imperious captor and eloquent suppliant; she perceived the extraordinary consent and approbation of the nobility, which he had dexterously gained; she did

She is de-  
ceived, vio-  
lated, and  
forced to con-  
sent to a mar-  
riage with  
Bothwell.

not suspect that he had been concerned in the murder of her late husband : her whole court had asserted, and almost all the nobility had sworn to, his innocence. Yet still she demurred : her reluctance was not overcome ; she shuddered at precipitancy ; she felt the indignity of being compelled by a daring subject to so unequal a match ; but he scarcely allowed her time or power for reflection, till, by entreaty, persuasion, importunate suit, and finally by *ruffian force*, he gained his infamous purpose, which, from shame and confusion, extorted from Mary a reluctant consent to a marriage, which, though disagreeable and degrading, she considered as the only palliative of a misery which she deplored.

Mary's enemies afterwards pretended that the capture of the Queen was the effect of collusion between Mary and Bothwell ; but at first, in their proclamations, in their act of Parliament against Bothwell, and in their answer to Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Elizabeth's ambassador, they own and declare, that " she was shamefully led captive, " and by fear, force, and " (as by many conjectures may well be suspected) " by other extraordinary " and more unlawful means, compelled to become " Bothwell's bedfellow."\*

Had the Queen acted in concert with Bothwell, in obtaining the bond from the nobles, under the sanction of that strong and unanimous recommendation, nothing could have hindered the parties from directly proceeding to their marriage. In that sup-

\* Anderson, i. p. 131, &c. Keith, p. 418.

A. C. 1567.

position, what folly to have had recourse to a pretended violent seizure of the Queen ! It remains, therefore, evident, that the seizure was solely the contrivance of Bothwell and his associates, after his suit was rejected.

Melvil says nothing of the Queen's resistance ; and it has been alleged against her, that she made none : but, 1. She must have been confounded at the sudden and audacious attack ; 2. Resistance would have been ineffectual, and probably attended with useless bloodshed ; 3. Had the enterprise been previously concerted, it is probable that the Queen, to save appearances, would have affected a great shew of resistance.

The Queen's candid rehearsal of her capture, and of the bond of the nobles being afterwards presented to her, as related in her instructions, to be communicated to the King and Queen of France, by the Bishop of Dunblane, carries conviction along with it. After the flagitious act of violence committed on her person, she was restrained by modesty from speaking out the whole truth. Mr. Whitaker conjectures that Bothwell had administered to the Queen a strong opiate, or stupifying dose. It is said, that Bothwell, stung with remorse, and the bitter lamentations and reproaches of the Queen, inflicted on himself a desperate wound with his sword.

What a heart-appalling scene ! What an agony of distress for the Queen ! What excruciating dubiety of the course she ought to pursue ! Need we wonder, that she promised to be directed by her council ? But who were her council ? The asso-

ciates of Murray and Morton ; men who had urged the marriage, and sworn to maintain and defend it, and who were soon to be the most vehement condemners of, and severest inveighers against, the unhappy match which they had promoted. A. C. 1567.

Care had been taken to subdue the Queen's repugnance to an union with a married man. Lady Janet Gordon, sister to the Earl of Huntly, had already sued for a divorce from Bothwell, in the new consistorial court, on the plea of adultery: Bothwell had claimed the same disengagement, in the court of the archbishop (whose jurisdiction the Queen had restored to him), on the score of consanguinity. In both courts, a favourable sentence was procured in the space of a few days.


Bothwell then conducted the Queen from Dunbar to the Castle of Edinburgh. On the 12th of May, he led her to the Court of Session, where she owned her liberty, and ostensibly forgave her forcible abduction, and remitted the offence of the subscribers of the infamous bond.\* The bands of marriage between the Queen and Bothwell, now Duke of Orkney (after some bustling and wry faces) were proclaimed by Mr. John Craig, one of the ministers of Edinburgh; and the marriage ceremony was performed, in the hall of Holyroodhouse, by Adam Bothwell, called Bishop of Orkney, a reformed minister.†

The marriage takes place in Holyroodhouse.

Thus this unfortunate Princess, by a train of artful designs, was entangled in the net fabricated for her destruction, and in a manner compelled to

\* Anderson apud Keith, p. 384.

† Ibid. p. 386.

A. C. 1567.  marry her ravisher. *Ille dies primus lethi primusque malorum, causa fuit.*

Notwithstanding the unhappy and trying circumstances in which Mary was placed, her acquiescence in this degrading marriage must appear the most blameable action of her life, as it proved also the source of all the poignant afflictions and misfortunes, which daily swelled upon her, till the hour of her heroic releasement from the body. It was this rash action which grieved to the heart all her real well-wishers, and which still grieves every well-wisher of her fame. She ought not to have married the man to whom the smallest suspicion was attached of being concerned in the murder of her late husband. Even when violence was offered to her body, she might have stung her violator with the defiance of an ancient virgin heroine : “ *Si me incitum violaveris, castitas mihi duplicabitur ad coronam.*” But although a candid and honourable mind cannot altogether excuse her compliance, yet her situation claims our sympathy, and affords much to extenuate her fault : *humanum est errare.* True charity covers what it cannot excuse. It cannot distrust the appearance of virtue, nor suspect hypocrisy where no vice is seen : but how mean, how base, how unmanly, and wicked, to rake together all the filth and scandal that can be collected from the vilest and lowest dregs of mankind, to bespatter royalty ; with hypocritic zeal, to make even the pulpit the channel of defamation ; to usurp the privilege of God himself, by attempting to read, and to promulgate the secret of another’s heart ; to impute the worst of motives to

Mary’s error ;

yet entitled  
to sympathy.

The demoniac  
virulence of  
her enemies.

actions that may be favourably construed ; and, not content with stirring up and fostering discontent and rebellion among the people against their lawful Sovereign, to transmit to posterity all the spleen, and venom, and prejudice of their own ulcerated hearts, as historical truths, either in a sanctimonious garb, or decked in a flowery, classical, and deceitful style, which makes the poisonous falsehood be swallowed with avidity ! All this, I say, is surely an attempt to *transform the agents of Satan into angels of light ; to despise dominion, and blaspheme majesty.*

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Never, certainly, was a Sovereign more worthy of compassion than Queen Mary was at this critical conjuncture. The villain who, by all the hellish arts of blandishment, and all the protestations of lasting obedience and respect, had induced the Queen to consent to this humiliating marriage, as soon as she had raised him upon her own ruin, began to act the tyrant ; to teaze and vex her to such a degree, that she was often seen drowned in tears, and bitterly lamenting her misery and indiscretion.

Mary laments  
her indiscretion.

Many of the nobility, who had, by their earnest advice and infamous bond, contributed so greatly to draw her into the snare of this unfortunate marriage, and had so solemnly sworn to support it, as soon as it had taken place, deserted their Queen, and, to enhance their perjury, entered into a new confederacy, and contrary bond of treason against her, courting the ignominy which they had imprecated upon themselves.\*

Base perjury  
and treason  
of many of  
the nobles.

\* Keith, p. 394.



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Baseness of  
Morton and  
Lethington.

Morton and Lethington, together with Murray, had been leagued with Bothwell in the murder of the late King; had by their influence procured the verdict of his acquittal; had asserted his innocence to the Queen, and recommended him as the fittest person for her husband: Yet now, the completion of that marriage becomes, for Morton and Lethington, the signal of revolt. They make their own delinquencies the topics of their complaints.

Murray an  
insidious ca-  
lumniator.

Murray, passing through England, had communed with Elizabeth and her council; and from thence proceeding to France, had in both courts artfully and insidiously disseminated reports the most injurious to the Queen's reputation; and, with a wicked and unsuspected policy, kept up a close correspondence with Morton and Lethington: directing them how to effect the ruin of Bothwell, and to wrest the crown from the head of their Sovereign.\*

Bothwell  
seeks the  
custody of  
the Prince.

Bothwell, whatever might be his motive, sought with anxiety and a suspicious haste, to obtain the custody of the young Prince,† and employed both entreaty and menace to induce the Earl of Mar to resign to him that important guardianship. But as Mar had received that charge from the Queen, who reposed full confidence in him, and as she had expressed no desire that he should surrender it, he did not think it proper to deliver the son into the hands of the man who was held as the murderer of the father. In order, however, to protect himself against the menaces of so powerful an adver-

\* Dr. Gilbert Stewart, vol. i. p. 225.

† Keith, p. 394.

sary, he sought assistance to secure him from injury. The Earl of Athole, upon the King's murder, had retired from court, waiting a fit opportunity of pursuing and punishing the regicides. He therefore, with several others, associated himself with Mar, to avenge the murder, and to protect the young Prince.

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Association  
to rebel, un-  
der specious  
pretences.

Morton and Lethington were too clear-sighted not to perceive the advantages they might derive from such a combination; they therefore encouraged and joined it with great avidity. A convention met at Stirling to form a confederacy, the leaders of which were the Earls of Morton, Athole, Argyle, and Glencairn; the Lords Hume, Sempill, Lindsay, and Boyd; Kirkaldy of Grange, Murray of Tullibardine, and Secretary Maitland of Lethington.\* These having inspirited one another, separated to collect their retainers.

Mary wrote, and sent, by the Bishop of Dunblane and Sir Robert Melvil, to the courts of France and England, two admirable apologies, which are still lasting monuments of her mental powers.† From the former court she might hope for good will and some prospect of assistance; from the latter, she had nothing to expect but deceit, contumely, and injustice.

Mary writes  
to France  
and England.

Bothwell saw the growing storm, and induced the Queen to issue two proclamations, to raise an army, under pretence of suppressing the freebooters on the borders. By the first, she summoned, on the 28th of May, the earls, lords, barons, and

Bothwell in-  
duces the  
Queen to  
raise an army.

\* Keith, p. 394.

† Ibid. p. 388, 392.

A. C. 1567.

landed proprietors of the districts of Perth, Forfar, Strathern, Menteith, Stirling, Lanark, Clackinnan, Kinross, and Fife, to meet her, and her husband and Lieutenant, the Duke of Orkney, at Melrose, on the 15th of June ensuing. By the latter proclamation, she charged the nobility and freeholders within the shires of Linlithgow and Edinburgh, and of the constabulary of Haddington and Berwick, to hold themselves ready to march and attend, as should be advertised, on six hours warning.\*

The insurgents and preachers spread incendiary rumours.

Mary contradicts them.

These preparations spurred on the insurgent association, which, with the assistance of the preachers, spread among the populace the most odious and incendiary rumours against the Queen, representing her as intending to overturn the constitution, and to rule according to her own caprice; and also that she was careless of the health and preservation of her son, and had entirely secluded the nobles from her councils. The Queen issued a declaration the most candid and explicit, in contradiction to those false reports and allegations,† and replete with asseverations of her most affectionate care and love, both for her dear son and for her faithful subjects. But her expostulation was treated with scorn. It was time to provide for her safety. An asylum in the Castle of Edinburgh was doubtful, as the confederates had been tampering with Sir James Balfour, the deputy-governor. She, with Bothwell, retired to Borthwick castle. Lord Hume pursued them thither.

\* Keith p. 395.

† Ibid. p. 396.

but they effected their escape to the better fortified castle of Dunbar.\*

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The confederates then turned with their forces towards Edinburgh. The Earl of Huntly, Lord Boyd, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishop of Ross, and the Abbot of Kilwinning, who had been left there by the Queen, † endeavoured to arouse the inhabitants to defend the town and the cause of their sovereign. But the people had been under other tutelage. The magistrates, indeed, ordered the gates to be shut, but in such a manner, that St. Mary's port was easily forced. The Queen's enemies took possession of the capital, formed a council, and issued proclamations, commanding all the lieges to be ready, on three hours warning, to join them in setting the Queen at liberty, in taking revenge on Bothwell, and in protecting the young Prince.‡ They moreover charged all who refused to assist them, to leave the town within four hours. Huntly, with the rest of the Queen's friends, fled to the Castle, where they were received by Balfour, though he was then negotiating with the insurgents for delivering up the Castle to them.

The insurgents take possession of Edinburgh.

Meantime forces were assembling for the Queen's assistance; and she, with Bothwell, very unadvisedly left Dunbar, where they might have remained in safety, until the army of the confederates had

The Queen unfortunately leaves Dunbar.

\* Keith, p. 398.

† Ibid. p. 398.

‡ The confederates made the same use of the Prince, as they had done of his great-grandfather James IV.; that is, to rebel, under pretence of loyalty, and fight against what they pretended to preserve. They put on a cloak of justice to conceal treason. The preachers cried up rebellion and revenge; Crawford's Memoirs, p. 23.

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melted away, and the Queen's party had accumulated to greater strength and numbers. At Glads-muir, a proclamation by the Queen was read at the head of her army, detecting the deceitful glosses by which the insurgents endeavoured to colour over their treason ; encouraging her troops to valour, by the prospect of glory, and reward from the forfeited possessions of the rebels.\* But the greater part of her soldiers were raw and undisciplined ; and, though well affected to their sovereign, bore no good-will to the Duke of Orkney, who, assisted by the Lords Seaton, Yester, and Borthwick, was their leader. The Queen's forces posted themselves on Carberry-hill, on the ground which the English had occupied before the battle of Pinkie. The insurgent army, drawn up in two divisions, the one commanded by Morton and Hume, and the other by Athole, Mar, Glencairn, Lindsay, Ruthven, Sem-pill, and Sanquhar, was stronger, better equipped, and had more experience. This rebel force, well refreshed at Musselburgh, advanced to attack the Queen's army.

Her army  
posted on Car-  
berry-hill.

15th of June.

Le Croc at-  
tempts a re-  
conciliation of  
the parties.

Mary, with a misgiving mind, surveyed the formidable appearance of her enemies. Le Croc, the French ambassador,† employed his authority and eloquence to negotiate an accommodation between the parties. He represented the Queen as willing to pardon the confederates for present and past offences, on condition that they would disband their army. Morton haughtily replied, that they had not taken arms against the Queen, but against the

\* Spottiswood, p. 206.

† Keith, p. 401.

murderer of her husband. “ Let her come over to  
 “ the nobility, and leave Bothwell to suffer the due  
 “ punishment of his crime.” Glencairn added, that  
 they came not there to ask pardon for any offence,  
 but rather to punish offenders. Le Croc, perceiv-  
 ing his mediation fruitless, took leave of the Queen,  
 and left the field.

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The Queen rode through the ranks of her army,  
 to inspire her troops with courage, but few shewed  
 any inclination to fight. Bothwell, to stimulate  
 their valour, threw down the gauntlet to any of  
 his adversaries who should dare to encounter him  
 in single combat. Kirkaldy of Grange, Murray  
 of Tullibardine, and Lord Lindsay, one after an-  
 other, accepted the challenge. To the two first,  
 Bothwell objected inferiority of rank ; to the third,  
 he could have no pretence of excuse : but either his  
 heart failed him, or the Queen forbade the com-  
 bat.\*

Bothwell's  
vain bravado.

Kirkaldy had been sent, with two hundred horse,  
 to the east side of the hill, where the ascent was  
 less steep, in order to hem in the Queen's army.  
 The Queen, perceiving the imminent danger of  
 risking a battle, and the impracticability of a safe  
 retreat, thought it prudent to capitulate. She de-  
 sired a conference with Kirkaldy, who, having re-  
 ceived permission from the confederates to com-  
 mune with the Queen, and to assure her of their  
 willingness to perform what they had at first pro-  
 posed, rode up to the Queen, and advised Bothwell  
 to make his escape ; and Mary also having admo-

\* Cald. vol. ii. p. 50.

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Bothwell  
escapes.The Queen  
surrenders ;

is cajoled ;

insulted by  
some of the  
soldiers ;

nished him to provide for his safety, he bade her farewell. The Queen then thus addressed Kirkaldy : “ Laird of Grange, I render myself to you, “ upon the conditions you have rehearsed to me, “ in the name of the Lords.” She stretched out her hand ; he kissed it ; and, taking the bridle of her horse, conducted her down the hill towards the confederates. They met her with becoming respect. She thus accosted them : “ My lords, I “ am come to you, not out of any fear that I had “ of my life, nor yet doubting of the victory, if “ matters had gone to the worst : but I abhor the “ shedding of Christian blood, and especially of “ those who are my own subjects ; therefore I yield “ to you, and will be ruled hereafter by your coun- “ sels, trusting that you will respect me as your “ born Princess and Queen.” Morton, bending the knee, with a double heart and tongue, replied, “ This, madam, is the place where you ought to “ be ; and we will honour, serve, and obey you, “ as ever the nobility of this realm did any of your “ progenitors.”\*

Some of the meanest of the soldiery, instigated by her enemies, presumed to insult her, by uttering vile reproaches and invectives ; but the Laird of Grange, with some others who had the civility to follow his example, silenced their insolent ribaldry, and made them crouch, or smart under their naked swords.† But heightened contumely yet awaited her in the city, where she arrived at seven o'clock in the evening, with a disconsolate

\* Crendal, vol. ii. p. 165. Spottiswood, p. 207.

† Keith, p. 402.

heart, and her beauteous face disfigured by weeping, and clotted with tears and dust. Her rebel nobility, destitute of conscience, honour, chivalry, or humanity, forgot their promises, and felt a barbarous and brutal pleasure from exposing her, in this deplorable plight, to the most virulent, the most vulgar, and the coarsest language of invective and reproach from the rabble, which had been driven to rage and madness by the rancorous declamation of the preachers.\*

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still more by the rabble.

In vain she besought Maitland to solicit the lords to suppress the insolence of the rabble, and to mitigate the insupportable atrocity of her treatment. In vain did she implore, that they would conduct her to her palace. They triumphed at her miseries, and felt a hellish pleasure in the savage execrations of the exasperated populace. She was imprisoned in the provost's house, locked up in a chamber, where not even her maids had access to her. In this melancholy solitude, she was left to revolve, in her agitated mind, the indignities she had already suffered, and to anticipate those which were likely to ensue.


Imprisoned in the provost's house,

Lest the cheering beams of the morning might afford her some consolation, a device was contrived, worthy of Pandemonium, and of being executed by the imps of Satan, and was presented before her window. It was a white banner, on which were depicted the dead corpse of her late husband, and the semblance of the Prince, her son, on his knees before it, with a label from his mouth, in

and cruelly outraged.

\* Crawford's Memoirs, p. 23 ; Ibid. p. 27.



**A. C. 1567.**  these words: "REVENGE MY CAUSE, O LORD!" What tongue could express the bitter anguish of this maltreated Queen, beholding this refinement of cruelty and diabolical malice? With streaming tears, dishevelled hair, and accents of sorrow, she conjured her faithful citizens (if any such yet remained), for God's sake to deliver her from the cruelty of traitors.

A spark of humanity shewn her ;

There is sometimes a reflux of humanity into hearts from whence it had been expelled by the wildest ferocity ; and, at this conjuncture, royalty and beauty in distress still darted a beam which seemed to melt the most obdurate heart, and to elicit a tear from the sternest eye. Many of the citizens crowded to behold the degraded majesty of their Sovereign ; they listened to her affecting tale of woe, were moved with sympathy and compassion for their Queen, and with deep indignation against her barbarous persecutors. They seemed inspired to soothe her sorrows, and effect her deliverance.\* It was announced to the rebel lords, that the tide of popular favour had turned towards the Queen. Like Satan, *they transformed themselves into angels of light*. They hastened to the place of her confinement, and, with dissembled reverence, smiles, and courtesy, promised to conduct her to her palace, and to reinstate her in her royal dignity and authority. Her amiable candour, duped by their ensnaring duplicity, caused her, with a courteous and grateful smile, to dismiss the sympathising multitude, with the assurance that she was satisfied

Contrasted and defeated by the confederates.

\* Keith, p. 402.

and appeased. But Mary's joy was only a transient gleam : the cloven foot of the dissembled angel soon appeared. The confederate nobles were far from any intention to fulfil their promise, or to re-establish her in liberty, or to set her on her throne. They indeed conducted her to Holyroodhouse, but it was only to strip her of her ornaments and royal attire ; and, under the disguise of a mean dress, she was conveyed, by a body of four hundred armed men, out of the capital. Athole rode on one side of the illustrious captive, and Morton on the other. The Lords Seaton, Yester, and Borthwick, failed in an attempt to rescue her.\* At some distance, she was delivered to the custody of Lindsay and Ruthven, by whom she was led to the fortalice of Lochleven, kept by William Douglas, the uterine brother of Murray, and heir-presumptive to Morton. This place of confinement was chosen, not only on account of its security, being in the middle of a lake, and under the care of so trusty a keeper ; but Morton and his adherents found a malignant joy in exposing Mary to the severities and insults of Douglas, and Murray's mother, who, having been the concubine of James V., pretended to have been his wife, and that Murray, her son, was the true heir of the Scottish monarchy. This proud and imperious woman, it appears, did not neglect to embitter Mary's prison by studied affronts and humiliations.

Kirkaldy, a man of more honour than the rest of the associates, being sensible of the Queen's bad

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The Queen  
imprisoned  
Lochleven

Expostulation  
of  
Kirkaldy.

\* Keith, p. 404.

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Base forgery,

usage, and alarmed for the part he had acted at the desire of the confederates, had expostulated with them upon their breach of promise. To excuse their perfidy, they laid before him a forged letter, as if recently written, and sent from the Queen to Bothwell, expressing the warmth of her love and affection for that nobleman. This letter they pretended to have intercepted; and it proved, they said, the necessity of the measures they had taken, as their lives and lands were at stake. The Queen, too, had written to Kirkaldy, complaining of her disgraceful usage, and of the breach of promise made to her through him.\* Grange replied, that he had already reproached the Lords for their conduct, but that they had stopped his mouth, by shewing him a letter, said to have been intercepted in coming from her Majesty to Bothwell, and containing protestations that she never would abandon nor forget him.

The Queen, upon hearing herself accused of a letter which she never had written, and containing sentiments which she had never avowed, saw the depth of the plot formed, and the height of the injustice and treason intended against her by her rebellious subjects. Indeed, it is not clear that there ever was any real love between the Queen and Bothwell. That unprincipled Lord was stimulated by inordinate ambition, and Mary fell a prey to the seduction, fraud, and force of a profligate man. There are no traces of their improper intercourse while the King was alive. Mr. Hume

\* Keith, p. 403.

candidly gives up the authenticity of this pretended letter ; and Morton and his adherents, in their answer to Sir Nicholas Throgmorton,\* in which they rake together every imputation they can collect against Mary, and especially of her vehement attachment to Bothwell, make no mention of this letter.

To every candid mind, this fictitious document will serve as a clue, conducting to the true judgment to be formed of the other letters afterwards produced against Mary ; for it seems proper, in this place, to forewarn the reader, that the confederate lords, amongst other hellish contrivances to screen their own guilt, and to criminate and blacken their Queen, pretended that Bothwell, before his flight, sent a servant to Sir James Balfour, requesting the remittance, by the bearer, of a silver casket left in the Castle of Edinburgh.† This casket, they say, was given to Bothwell by the Queen, and contained several sonnets and letters, composed and written by the Queen to Bothwell, and which she had desired him to destroy ; but which he had preserved, to be an *awe-band* upon the Queen, in case her affections should change. Sir James, they aver, delivered the casket to the messenger, but took care, underhand, to give notice to the lords ; and that, consequently, the casket, with its contents, was intercepted and seized by Morton. These counterfeit letters and sonnets were framed by Lethington, with the aid of George Buchanan a man of high genius, but of profligate principles.

a prelu  
more fo  
against  
Queen.

\* Keith, p. 417.

† Knox, p. 490.

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He was poor, and his ambition attached him to Murray for self-interest; and to serve the base purposes of his patron, he scrupled not to sacrifice his duty to God, to his Sovereign, and to stifle the remorses of his own conscience. These false documents, modelled and remodelled, copied, translated, clandestinely shewn and withdrawn (while Mary was refused a sight either of the originals or a copy), were afterwards held forth as the proofs that the Queen herself was the real cause and source of all the evils that afflicted Scotland; “that she  
“ was *art and part* of the actual devise and deed  
“ of the murder of her husband; and that she fully  
“ deserved the treatment she met with.”\* The style of the letters was, indeed, the most fulsome: they breathed a passion the most gross and inordinate, and the wantonness of a mind inured to vice, and lost to virtue.†

\* Haynes, p. 453.

† Anderson's Coll. vol. ii. p. 129.

## CHAPTER V.

**Confederacy of the Rebels—Fictitious search for Bothwell, his escape, death, and declaration—Robbery, sacrilege, hypocrisy, and tyranny of the Rebels—Ambassadors refused access to the Queen—Treasonable documents, and forced Abdication of the Crown—Murray's hypocrisy and cruelty to the Queen—He is made Regent—Base Parliament—Discontentment of the people—Mary escapes from Lochleven—Loses the battle of Langside—Sails to England—Is shamefully kept prisoner, and maltreated by Elizabeth—Murray strengthens his power, and colludes with Elizabeth—Mary, by Cecil's cunning, gives some consent to a trial—Commissioners appointed to meet at York—Murray's fear and cunning—Scheme of marriage between Mary and the Duke of Norfolk—Conference evoked to Westminster—Murray accuses his Sovereign—Mary demands in vain to be confronted with her accusers—Elizabeth's fallacy and unjust procedure—Mary's Defence—Proof of the forgery of the letters—Mary refuses to abdicate the Crown—Ridiculous issue of the trial—Elizabeth's indignation at the proposal of Mary's marriage with Norfolk—Insurrection in the north of England—Murray's death and character.**

**THE** rebels having incarcerated the Queen in the fortalice of Lochleven, formed, on the same day, viz. the 16th of June, a confederacy or concurrence, as it was called, under the pretence of prosecuting the murderers of the King, dissolving the marriage of the Queen with Bothwell, delivering the Queen from the thraldom of the said Bothwell, and of protecting the life of the young Prince.\* Thus, we have seen the same persons, 1. Binding themselves, by all that is sacred, to prevent the marriage of Darnley with the Queen; 2. To raise the same Darnley to the highest royal dignity, by pro-

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Confederacy of the Queen's enemies.

\* Keith, p. 404.

A. C. 1567.



missing to procure him the crown-matrimonial, and then to contrive and procure his assassination ; 3. We have seen them attesting the innocence of the murderer, and promising to defend him with all their power against all accusations of that crime; recommending him as a fit husband for the Queen's Majesty ; engaging, as they shall answer to God, to support that marriage, and imprecating every ignominy on themselves if they swerve from their promise. We need not, therefore, wonder that they now enter upon a fourth solemn association, to prosecute and punish the murderer, *whose deed*, they had declared, *they would repute their own* ; and, under pretence of saving the Prince, and serving their country, to transfer the royal authority from their lawful Sovereign to a Regent, the head of their own faction. The leaders of that party, under Murray, were the Earls of Morton, Argyle, Athole, Mar, and Glencairn ; the Lords Hume, Sempill, Lindsay, and Ruthven ; the Barons Kirkaldy of Grange, Murray of Tullibardine, and Maitland of Lethington.\* These assumed to themselves the title of *Lords of the Secret Council*.

Death and  
declarations  
of certain ac-  
complices of  
the King's  
murder.

To support their credit with the populace, it behoved them to shew great zeal for the discovery of the perpetrators of the murder.† They seized Sebastian, a Frenchman, who soon after, by address or connivance, made his escape. Captain Blackadder, James Edmonstone, John Blackadder, and Mynart Fraser, were also apprehended, tried, and condemned. Though put to the torture, no

\* Keith, p. 394.

† Keith, p. 406, 407. Calderwood's MS. Crawford's Mem. p. 41.

confession was elicited from them which their prosecutors durst publish. In their dying moments, they declared their innocence ; and Captain Blackadder added, that he believed Murray and Morton were the contrivers of the King's murder.

A. C. 156

The pretended eagerness of *the Lords of the Secret Council* to apprehend Bothwell ; their charge of *surrender* to the keeper of Dunbar, where he had been received ; their proclamation of a reward of a thousand crowns to any person who should bring him to Edinburgh, were mere ostentation and bravado. The time and warning they allowed him, sufficiently shewed they did not wish to confront a man so well acquainted with their own villany, and their share of his own guilt.

Fictitious search for Bothwell.

Bothwell, after having lurked some time with his kinsman, the Bishop of Murray, at Spynie Castle, sailed to the Orkney Isles with a few small vessels, which accompanied him from Dunbar ; and was, in a manner, necessitated to procure subsistence for himself and his followers by piracy. Kirkaldy and Murray of Tullibardine were sent after him by the confederates.\* They were probably instructed to effect his death, in one way or other. They had orders to pursue him and his associates with fire and sword ; to fence and hold courts wheresoever they pleased. They surprised him while he rode at anchor ; took all his vessels but one, in which he made his escape. On the coast of Norway, he attacked and took a Turkish trader, richly laden ; but the Norwegians coming to the

His escape

\* Crawford's Memoirs, p. 46. Keith, p. 442.



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Imprison-  
ment.

Death and  
declaration.

Robbery and  
sacrilege of  
the rebels.

assistance of the captured vessel, a desperate fight ensued. Bothwell and his crew were taken prisoners; his officers and mariners were hanged. His own name and character were made known by some Scottish merchants, and he was thrown into prison, where he languished for ten years. We have already seen,\* that by his dying declaration he acknowledged his guilt of the murder, and named his chief accomplices, testifying at the same time the Queen's innocence of the horrid deed.

The self-assumed Secret Council, soon after the Queen's commitment, took an inventory (*i. e.* possessed themselves) of the Queen's plate and jewels, of great value, as also of the furniture and decorations of the palace of Holyrood;† laid violent hands on her Majesty's cupboard, amounting to sixteen stone weight of silver, which they melted, and converted into coin, to be employed against herself.

Much about the same time the Earl of Glencairn, of his own accord, went to the palace, accompanied with his own servants only, and demolished the chapel, with all its ornaments and furniture.‡ This manly action was highly extolled by Knox, though Glencairn's colleagues were not so well pleased, as they had no share of the profit.

The confederates, notwithstanding their past success, were not without apprehensions for the future. Argyle and Boyd had withdrawn themselves from the confederacy. The nation began to be alarmed about its liberty and safety. A great

\* Keith, App. p. 144. † Keith, p. 407. Calderwood's MS.

‡ Keith, p. 407. Crawford's Memoirs.

many of the nobles who favoured the Queen, and condemned her imprisonment as high treason, namely the Earls of Huntly, Rothes, Crawford, Caithness, Menteith, and Argyle; the Lords Fleming, Drummond, Cathcart, Herries, Yester, Livingston, Seaton, Glamis, Ogilvie, Gray, Oliphant, Methven, Sommerville, and Boyd; with the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and the commendators of Arbroath, Kilwinning, Dunfermline, Newbottle, Holyroodhouse, and St. Colm, had convened at Hamilton to deliberate upon the state of the country, and to contrive a remedy for the anarchy and rebellion by which it was convulsed.

A. C. 1567.



Convention  
of Mary's  
friends.

The Lords of the Secret Council, disquieted by so formidable an opposition, attempted to win these other nobles to a coalition with themselves;\* but in vain: their messenger was dismissed with their letters unopened. They next employed the mediation of John Knox, and three of his brethren, to invite their opponents to attend the assembly of the kirk at Edinburgh, on the 20th of July ensuing, under pretence of regulating the polity of the infant church, but in reality with a view to persuade, or to force them to a compliance with their own measures. But the Queen's lords were not so easily decoyed by the insidious kindness of the ministers. They begged to be excused from trusting their freedom and lives where they were likely to be surrounded by an armed force; and they even ventured to admonish the preachers to introduce no religious novelties, nor other innova-

Hypocrisy  
of the rebels.

\* Keith, p. 407.

A. C. 1567.

Are joined  
by the City of  
Edinburgh.

tions, without the concurrence of the three Estates. Upon this disappointment, the Lords of the Secret Council earnestly solicited the magistrates and city of Edinburgh to become a branch of their confederacy: and they succeeded. The provost, Sir Symon Preston, was authorised, in name of the city and council, to subscribe the bond of concurrence; and the magistrates, preparing for hostilities, augmented their artillery, and made an agreement of mutual defence with Sir James Balfour, keeper of the castle, who had now decisively joined Morton and his associates.

Tyrannical  
measures.

The rebel confederates having already seized the Queen's plate and money, &c.\* proceeded in their wicked devices against her person and authority. By an act of their council, on the 7th of July, they forbade the lieges to answer or make payment of any of the Queen's property, thirds of benefices, or of any thing else belonging to the crown, to her Majesty's comptroller, James Cockburn of Scraling, under pain of repaying the same, and of being pursued *as art and part of the King's murder, and the Queen's ravishment*. This disgraceful act also bears, that Mr. Cockburn was liable to prosecution as art and part of the foresaid crimes, because he had received his commission of comptrollery during the time of her Highness' bondage and thralldom by the Earl of Bothwell.

French am-  
bassador re-  
sued access  
to Mary;

The Court of France, hearing of and resenting the Queen's imprisonment, despatched Monsieur De Villeroy to condole with her in her distress,

\* Keith. p. 410.

and to learn what could be done for her relief. A. C. 156  
 But the rebel lords having peremptorily refused him admittance into her prison, he returned immediately to his country.\*

Charles IX. and Catherine of Medicis, urged Murray, then in France, to employ his good offices in favour of the Queen, and trusted too much to his deceitful promises, though they had been warned, by the Archishop of Glasgow, of Murray's duplicity, and of his credit and connection with the rebellious faction. The court, however, began to be suspicious of his insincerity, and thought of arresting him ; but he had dreaded his danger, and hastened to escape.


Queen Elizabeth,† although nowise sorry to see Scotland embroiled, and a rival whom she hated reduced to the deepest humiliation, yet, disliking the daring encroachments of the confederates on the sacred authority and person of their Sovereign, which she considered as a dangerous precedent, despatched Sir Nicholas Throgmorton to Scotland, with messages to the Queen, and to the Lords of the Secret Council, which carry at least an air of sincerity, friendship, and discretion. But if Elizabeth entertained any real sentiments of befriending Mary, these were defeated by the address and insidious wiles of her Secretary. Throgmorton, notwithstanding his friendship to our Queen on a former occasion, was now the agent of Cecil, as well as of Elizabeth; and it is evident that he acted more according to the private counsels of the for-

likewise the  
 English a  
 bassador.

\* Keith, p. 411.

† Ibid.

A. C. 1567.

  
Dissimulation  
of Throg-  
morton.

mer, than in conformity to the public instructions of the latter. He asked permission for access to the imprisoned Queen, which his Sovereign had expressly demanded ; but on learning that a similar request had been denied to the French ambassador, he tamely acquiesced in the refusal. Having communicated Elizabeth's message to the Lords of the Secret Council, he patiently waited their answer, till the whole band of the rebel confederates should assemble at Edinburgh ; and, by a protracted correspondence with his Queen, gave time and opportunity to the Secret Council, aided by the pertinacious eloquence of the preachers, to complete their treason, by deposing their Queen. And what appears to me the greatest proof of Throgmorton's obsequiousness to Cecil, and to the Lords of the Secret Council, is, that he seems to have carefully concealed from Queen Elizabeth the number and power of those lords who had persevered in their allegiance and affection to their Queen, and only represents the chiefest of them as wavering, irresolute, passive, and indifferent. Had Throgmorton acted candidly, he would have written to his Sovereign, that if she insisted on her demand that *Mary should be set at liberty, and restored to her princely estate*, she had only to shew an army ready to enter Scotland to assist the faithful lords, and all the schemes and machinations of the refractory nobles, and the snarling and incendiary libels of the new hierarchy, would fall to the ground ; the Queen would recover her liberty and royal dignity, and Scotland would be quiet and tranquil. But this was not the policy of the English court.

Elizabeth was willing that the murderers of the A. C. 1567.  
 g should be prosecuted and punished.\* This  
 rebel lords, whatever zeal they pretended, could  
 be desirous of, since many of themselves were  
 implicated in the crime. The same lords alleged  
 protection of the Prince as an excuse for the  
 s they had taken : but the Prince was in their  
 custody, and Elizabeth, if they had chosen,  
 very desirous to take him under her guardian-  
 , in her own kingdom. Elizabeth insisted that  
 y should pardon the confederates ; but the  
 ederates were determined never to put them-  
 s in her power. A perpetual prison was the  
 test favour she had to expect, while condemna-  
 and death was the mercy recommended by the  
 clergy, and warmly adopted by many laics.†  
 preachers considered Mary as their determined  
 y, and that the Protestant religion would de-  
 the greatest advantage from her death. Knox  
 cially inveighed vehemently against the Queen,  
 inculcated extremities towards her.

Obstinacy  
of the rebel  
faction.

midst this anarchy and political speculation,  
 ton and his faction boldly hastened to effectuate  
 rpose to which they had advanced by so many  
 of treachery and guilt.‡ Lord Lindsay, who,  
 iery zeal and boisterous rudeness, surpassed,  
 ssible, the apostle of the Scottish reformation,  
 despatched to the Queen's Majesty in her pri-  
 of Lochleven. He carried with him three in-  
 nents, already drawn up by the associated re-  
 in order to require, or to enforce, the Queen's

Treasonable  
documents.

\* Keith, p. 415. † Robertson, vol. ii. p. 237.

‡ Keith, p. 430, &c. Anderson, vol. iv. p. 31, Par. xi. 86.

A. C. 1567.

assent and subscription. By one of these deeds, the Queen was made to abdicate her crown in favour of her son ; by the second, a commission of regency of the realm was granted to the Earl of Murray during the Prince's minority ; the third appointed certain noblemen to supply the place of Murray during his absence, or in case of his death, or of his not accepting the regency. Of the latter, however, there was no danger. Lindsay executed his commission with his characteristical sternness and barbarity, Sir Robert Melvil, who had been sent along with Lindsay, informed the Queen of the papers that were to be presented to her, and delivered to her letters from Throgmorton, and from Athole, Maitland, and Kirkaldy, who pretended to be her secret friends, advising her to subscribe the deeds ; because no subscription extorted by fear, and in a prison, could be binding in law, but might be revoked as soon as she recovered her liberty.

Forced ab-  
dication of  
the Crown.  
†

Mary had scarcely time to glance over the letters, with a heart bursting with grief, when Lindsay entered, with the menacing air of a Turkish bashaw ; threw the instruments on the table, and ruthlessly bade her either sign these deeds, or prepare for the death due to the copartner of her husband's assassination. The outraged but magnanimous Queen, with a heroism which never forsook her, without looking at the contents of the nefarious instruments, signed them ; while the flowing tears, which fell on the parchments, bore irrefragable testimony to the invalidity of the subscription.

The conspirators, proud of the success of their

machinations, entered into, and subscribed a new obligation, termed the second bond of concurrence.\* In this lying instrument, it was affirmed that the Queen, weary of the fatigues and cares of government, was desirous to resign the crown in favour of her son, and that she granted her subjects full permission to place it upon his head.

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The confederates proceeded, without delay, to crown the young Prince, who was now in his thirteenth month.† As the nobles of the Queen's party were at this time holding meetings at Hamilton, the Lords of the Secret Council condescended to send Sir James Melvil to request their concurrence in the Prince's coronation. The Queen's lords were going to make a reply to this message, with the warmth and indignation it deserved; but, by the advice of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, a softer answer was sent, which to some of the secret council seemed satisfactory, to others only artificial and evasive.

The party, however, performed the ceremony of the coronation, with all the solemnity that could be mustered, at Stirling, on the 29th of July. Knox preached the sermon, and stormed at the anointing.

Illegal coronation of the young P

The Queen's nobles retired to Dumbarton, and there formally subscribed a bond of association to procure the Queen's deliverance, the re-establishment of the government, the punishment of the King's murder, and the preservation of the young Prince.‡ They had been too tardy in collecting and organizing their power, which was great, and

\* Keith, p. 434.

† Ibid. p. 436.

‡ Ibid.



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Irresolu-  
tion of the  
Queen's  
friends.

might have disconcerted, perhaps overturned, the projects of the conspirators; but they were now too late in forming their combination, when their opponents had gained such firm footing. They seem to have wanted energy, unanimity, and a leader. They lost the time in idle murmurs, which ought to have been employed in resolutely crushing a wicked confederacy, weaker than themselves, and yet trampling upon the rights of their sovereign, upon the laws and tranquillity of the kingdom, and aiming at the possession of the property of all those who would not join in its wickedness.

Murray, while he was in France, kept, through Cecil, a close correspondence with those of his party in Scotland, received their information, and artfully directed their operations. Matters were now ripe for his return home. On his way, he did not neglect to visit the court of England, where, it is said, he was supplied with money;\* and his private interview with Elizabeth tended to the defamation of Scotland's Queen, and his own exaltation to, and support in, the regency. His associates, now styling themselves the King's Lords, sent Sir James Melvil to meet him at Berwick, to congratulate him on the success of their common enterprise, and to acquaint him how ardently he was expected to assume the reins of government.† The sly politician put on the mask of moderation, patriotism, sympathy for the Queen, and a dislike of the regency. He wished to sift the mind of the nation, and the humours of its heterogeneous parties. He

Murray's  
hypocrisy.

\* Calala, p. 139.

† Mel. Mem. p. 173. Crawford's Mem. p. 40.

was especially desirous of procuring the approbation of the Queen to his acceptance of the regency. For this purpose, he paid her a visit in her prison of Lochleven, and employed all the craftiness of an unprincipled dissembler, and all the cruelty of a wicked heart, to compass his aim. He held three private conferences with her Majesty. At his first admittance, he was received with hearty welcome. He had generally been a favourite with the Queen ; she had raised him to high honours, pardoned his treasons, and loaded him with riches : she might justly expect kindness, consolation, and assistance from him, in her deep distress, which she confidently laid open to him. But he affected a distant coldness and reserve, which astonished and dismayed her ; he shifted the topics of conversation, only to pry into all her views and dispositions, and left her in a painful dubiety.

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In his second interview, which, after supper, was prolonged to an hour past midnight, he assumed all the stern severity, fanaticism, and cant of Knox himself. He boldly reproached her, in the most cruel manner, with misgovernment and misconduct, seemed even to point to the bar and the scaffold, and afforded her no other consolation than the admonition of a judge to a condemned criminal, viz. to sue to heaven for mercy ; then, with a rigid and sanctimonious air, left her to pass a sleepless night in the bitterest agony and tumultuous agitation. Having now wrought up his plot to the moment of explosion, he, next morning, appeared altogether another person. His countenance wore a sympathetic and indulgent smile ; he seemed to commi-

Cruelty to  
the Queen.

. C. 1567.

serate the Queen's distress, and soothe her sorrows. He promised, as far as depended on him, to preserve her life. Such a seeming return of affection, and the prospect afforded to the Queen, of relief from dreaded ignominy and death, produced the effect which the dissembler had expected. Mary clasped the traitor in her arms, kissed him, and begged him to take upon him the regency, as the only means of preserving her life, with that of her dear son, and of maintaining the good order and peace of the realm. Secure now of that grandeur to which he had aspired from his early years, and having obtained a specious excuse to all crowned heads for his usurpation, the hypocrite strove to hide the joy which was beating in his double heart, under the grimace of an unwilling and reluctant acceptance, in obedience to the Queen's urgent request.\* He, however, still left the Queen in a painful state of suspense, by informing her that her safety depended much on her own future conduct ;† that if she attempted to disturb the government, either by means of her own subjects,‡ or by any foreign assistance, it would not be in his power to protect her.

In addition to Mary's misfortunes, many of those nobles who were called the Queen's Lords entered into Murray's views, and made advances to him.|| Murray declared to Throgmorton, that he approved of the steps his associates had taken in his absence; that he meant to accept of the regency, which the Queen had laid on him ; and was determined to

\* Keith, p. 445.

† Ibid. p. 446.

‡ According to him, she had no subjects.

|| Ibid. p. 448.

risk his life in reducing all the subjects to the obedience of the King.

A. C. 1567



On the 22d of August, two days after his return to Edinburgh from Lochleven, in a packed council, Murray entered upon his office of Regent, and obtained that eminence which he had long coveted, to which he had raised himself by many crimes, and which he was determined to preserve at the same expense.\* He took the oath of a faithful administration of his trust, which he kept with the same fidelity as he had kept his former oath of obedience to the Pope.

Murray  
Regent.

The confederates had confidently asserted that Mary's attachment to Bothwell was incurable; that it threatened the Prince and the nation with ruin.† This was the chief foundation on which they rested the defence of their proceedings; but this pretence was destroyed by the offer that Mary had made to convene the three Estates, and submit to their decision the questions of the validity of her marriage, and the punishment of the murderers. The confederates paid no attention to this reasonable proposal: they were determined that the Queen should never again mount her throne; and the first act of the Regent, in his new capacity, was to publish an order for destroying all the public seals which bore the name and title of the Queen.‡ His next care was to get possession of all the places of strength in the kingdom that he could possibly obtain; and then, to sanction all the villanies and treasons of his faction, he called a Parliament, in which, after

\* Keith, p. 452.

‡ Ibid. p. 455.

† Apud eundem, p. 419. Throgmorton's Letter; Lords' Answer.

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ase Parlia-  
ent.

such success, he had little doubt but that all its base actions and measures should be approved of.

That assembly met on the 15th day of December, and the number of its members amounted to eighty-three; but of these, there were only four bishops, fourteen abbots, twelve earls, fifteen lords, and three eldest sons of peers.\* The rest were officers of state, and representatives of boroughs; of which last, the Regent had taken care to convene as many as should secure him a majority. This Parliament granted every thing that the confederates could demand or wish for, either for their personal security, or to sanction the form of government which they had established. Mary's resignation of the Crown was declared valid; her imprisonment, and all the other proceedings of her enemies, were pronounced lawful; the pretended letters of the Queen to Bothwell were produced, and sustained without any examination or scrutiny, though their strain and language were in direct opposition to the tenor of her life, and in manifest contradiction to the testimony of undoubted monuments of history; yet they were held as proofs that she was accessory to the murder of her late husband. The acts of the irregular Parliament of 1560, in favour of the Protestant religion, were confirmed and ratified, and even new statutes to the same purpose were enacted. The Regent,† at his installation, had sworn “to ruite out all here-  
“ tickis and enemies to the trew worschip of God;” and the nobles, in these times, were very obsequious

\* Keith, p. 465.

† Ibid. p. 453.

in subscribing the articles of any creed which the kirk might adopt or propose. But all the admonitions, threats, or excommunications of the ministers, could not prevail upon those zealous sons of the new church to relinquish, for the maintenance of its clergy, the smallest fragment of their gleanings from the ancient ecclesiastical property. I find, in the relation of this Parliament, a discrepancy among historians. Dr. Robertson, quoting from Anderson, says, “ that Argyle, Huntly, and Herries, acknowledged openly in Parliament that their behaviour towards the young King had been undutiful and criminal !” while Dr. G. Stuart relates, from the *Black Acts*,\* “ that the said Lords protested that the demission of the Queen was an illegal act ; and that all proceedings which had followed upon it were unjust and unconstitutional.” The latter testimony, from the sequel, appears the more probable.

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Soon after the dissolution of this assembly, such as it was, four servants of Bothwell,† Dalgleish, Powrie, Hepburn, and Hay, were convicted of being accessory to the King’s murder, and executed. They were detained sometime in prison, and were tampered with to accuse the Queen : but they resisted with scorn the base suggestion, and on the scaffold declared their belief of the Queen’s innocence ; and, at same time, protested that the Earl of Bothwell had informed them that Murray and Morton were the contrivers of the King’s murder.

Execution of accessories to the King’s murder.

\* So called, from a copy of the acts of this Parliament, printed in Saxon letters.

† Keith, p. 467. Spottiswood, p. 214.

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Discontent  
of the people.

The transactions of this Parliament did not advance the popularity of the Regent. The people had expected clearer proofs of the crimes imputed to the Queen. The mysterious concealment of her pretended letters to Bothwell created doubts and suspicion. The dying declaration of the regicides made a deep impression on the public mind, favourable to the Queen, and disadvantageous to the confederates. The rigour and avarice of the Regent, in the exercise of his justice-courts, diffused apprehensions and terror; his haughtiness, which had increased with his elevation, disgusted the nobles: his affected pomp and grandeur seemed unsuitable to his illegitimate birth; and his standing guard appeared unconstitutional, and unusual even to Scotland's lawful sovereigns. Argyle and Huntly, were disgusted with his violence. The partisans of the house of Hamilton considered his promotion to the Regency as an injury to the Duke of Chatelherault, the first Prince of the blood, and as endangering his eventual right to the crown. John, Commendator of Aberbrothick, the Duke's second son, without the Regent's permission, proceeded to France, to solicit aid for the Queen's deliverance. Murray of Tullibardine, from private causes of quarrel, withdrew from the Regent his support, which was considerable. Lethington, whose treacherous unsteadiness no ties of honour, friendship, or patriotism could fix, became cold and remiss in the cause of the Regent and his faction: the Catholics, as might be expected, from principle and from persecution, were animated with the warmest zeal for the cause of their sovereign.

Meanwhile Mary, notwithstanding the orders of her enemies, and the vigilance of her keepers, exerted her ingenuity in contriving how she might escape from the towers of Lochleven. By her beauty, her insinuating address, her flattering attention and promises, she won the heart, the secrecy, and devoted service of her keeper's brother, George Douglas, a youth of eighteen years. By his means she gained some necessary domestics, and corresponded with her friends to prepare them for her assistance. Her first attempt was unsuccessful. She had exchanged clothes with a laundress, and at an early hour, carrying a basket of linen, got into a boat in that disguise, and had nearly reached the shore, when one of the rowers, in a rude frolic, attempted to unveil the face of his passenger; and while the Queen, to prevent him, put up her hand to secure her muffler, the intruder exclaimed, "*Ah! that is not the hand of a washerwoman.*" The boatmen instantly wafted her back, and Mr. George Douglas was hereupon dismissed from the castle, but did not abandon his enterprise. Five weeks after, on the evening of Sunday the 2d of May, about seven o'clock, while Lady Douglas and her son sat at supper, an orphan boy of the age of sixteen slyly got hold of the keys, called on, and let out, the Queen, with her maid Kennedy; then locked the gate, and threw the keys into the lake. A boat was ready; the preconcerted signal was given. Douglas, and a faithful servant named Beaton, were waiting for the royal fugitive. Lord Seaton, with a chosen band of horsemen, received and conveyed his Sovereign to his country-seat of Nid-

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Mary's escape from Lochleven



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An army gathers round her.

drie, in West Lothian. Next morning she rode unmolested to Hamilton Castle.

A splendid train of nobles came crowding to their Queen with hearty congratulations and offers of service. Their vassals, with other loyalists, soon formed an army of six thousand strong. In their presence, she revoked her resignation of the crown, which had been extorted by fear and force. The inauguration of the Prince, and Murray's regency, were pronounced void, and of no authority. It was then only, it would seem, that she learned the true history of Darnley's murder.

The Regent was then in Glasgow, and an event so unexpected as the Queen's liberation, confounded his adherents. Many appeared wavering; others began to negotiate with the Queen, and some openly joined her army. Mary made repeated offers to the Regent, of settling every dissension in a free Parliament. Murray amused her by seeming to listen to her proposals, until he could collect his adherents from different parts of the kingdom. He judged that his safest course was immediate hostility, and that delay was as dangerous to him, as it was likely to be advantageous to the Queen, whose army might soon be swelled by Huntly and the northern clans, and that both France and England would likely espouse her cause.

Various counsels.

Mary's generals intended to conduct her to Dumbarton Castle, a place of great strength, which Lord Fleming had bravely and faithfully preserved for her reception; but if the enemy should attempt to annoy her troops on their march, they determined not to decline an engagement. This seems

have been the idea of the Hamiltons, but the prevailing intention of the Queen's best friends was to avoid an engagement at that time, and to have placed the Queen in the fortress of Dumbarton, until her numerous friends, from all parts of the kingdom, should have time and opportunity to join her, and to be in full capacity to re-establish her on her throne, both by military force and legal parliamentary authority. This plan was so much the more advisable, that already a bond had been entered into by nine earls, nine bishops, eighteen lords, twelve abbots and priors, and about one hundred barons, in support of her Majesty. The Queen perceived the danger of risking her cause to the doubtful event of a battle: Huntly, with his northern warriors, was hastening to her aid; she might depend on the friendship and countenance of France; she had even reason to hope for the protection of England. But the impetuosity of the Hamiltons frustrated her prudence, and all her flattering prospects of success.

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The Regent, understanding that the Queen's army was in motion, mustered his troops on Glasgow-moor. They were one-third fewer in number than those of the Queen, but much better disciplined, and commanded by generals and officers of superior valour and military talents. The Regent had supposed that the route of the Queen's troops was by the place where he had drawn up his forces; but perceiving them marching on the south side of the Clyde, he instantly changed his position, in order to intercept them, and hastened to seize the advantage-ground, by occupying a hill above the vil-

Battle of  
Langside,  
13th May.

A. C. 1568.

lage of Langside. The Queen's army might have gained this advantageous post, had it not been retarded by the Earl of Argyle, its commander, falling into a fit of epilepsy. (That nobleman was ill fitted for a general, and even his fidelity was doubtful.) The Hamiltons, by a foolish ardour, got considerably before the other troops, and having to pass through a narrow lane, were greatly annoyed by a band of musqueteers, which the Laird of Grange had placed in ambush, behind cottages and other fences. The Hamiltons, too, by their hasty march, and climbing up the hill, were almost out of breath when they closed with the Regent's van, commanded by the Earl of Morton. A desperate engagement then took place. The right wing of the Regent's army fell back, and was ready to flee; but Kirkaldy, who, as an experienced captain, was appointed to watch every exigency, and to bring succour,\* soon procured a reinforcement of fresh troops, which decided the fortune of the battle. The Hamiltons, pressed on all sides by the enemy, and not supported by their friends, were obliged to give way. Macfarlane, with a company of Highlanders, who had fled from the Regent's right wing in the beginning of the battle, now perceiving the discomfiture of the Queen's forces, returned to the pursuit, and more were killed in the flight than in the fight.† A panic spread among all the rest of the Queen's army, and the rout became total and irretrievable. Three hundred were left killed on the field: the number of the prisoners was greater.

\* Melvil.

† Calderwood's MS.

Mary, from an eminence, had, with painful anxiety, viewed both armies, and, with the most violent emotions of sorrow and disappointment, saw the overthrow of her troops, and of her hopes. She knew not whither to fly for safety. Dumbarton Castle would have been a safe asylum, but the passes to it were possessed and watched by her enemies. She was advised by Lord Herries to proceed to Galloway, where she might have present security, and find an easy conveyance to England or to France, as she might deem most eligible. She adopted that route, and, without closing her eyes, rode to the Abbey of Dundrenan, near Kirkcudbright, full sixty Scottish miles from Langside.\*

A. C.

Mary flees  
to Dun-  
drenan.

After the necessary rest and refreshment after so long and painful a journey, Mary consulted with her friends what course she should next follow. To endeavour to sail to France was dangerous; and she was perhaps unwilling to appear as an exile, in a kingdom where she had enjoyed the splendour of a Queen. Elizabeth had invited her to take refuge in England, had promised to meet her in person, and to give her such a reception as was due to a Queen, a kinswoman, and an ally.†

Mary expressed her choice of seeking an asylum in the court of her good sister the Queen of England. Lords Herries and Fleming remonstrated; the Archbishop of St. Andrews conjured her, on his knees, to change her resolution, and not to confide in the promises of Elizabeth. But Mary, to the completion of her misfortunes, trusted to the

Sails to En-  
land.

\* Keith, p. 481.

† Camben, p. 489. Robertson, p. 259.

A. C. 1568.

deceitful assurances she had received, and, in consequence of this determination, she embarked in a fishing-boat, with a slender retinue, and, crossing the Solway Frith, landed at Wirkington in Cumberland, and thence was most respectfully conducted through Cockermouth to the Castle of Carlisle, by the deputy-captain of that fort, together with the gentlemen of the country.\*

Here I have to regret the loss of my learned and faithful guide Bishop Keith, whose invaluable narration of Scottish affairs ends at this period. Having carefully consulted many other historians, whenever there appeared a discrepancy or doubt, I have generally followed the luminous and irrefragable testimony of that indefatigable and candid historian. Chiefly by his aid, I presume that I have already shewn the convulsed and distracted state of Scotland since the death of James V. to this date ; the sacrilegious pillage that kept pace with the reformation ; the barbarous destruction of so many noble edifices and monuments of scientific architecture, alike the proofs of piety towards God, and the splendid ornaments of the kingdom. I have shewn the selfishness, the greediness, the rebellions, the treasons, the perjuries, the baseness, of a considerable portion of the Scottish nobility ; the motives by which these were actuated, in promoting the change of religion, whilst they gave no mark of reformation in their own conduct. In prosecuting my narrative, I shall endeavour concisely to glean, as far as I proceed, the principal

\* Keith, p. 482.

facts and events relating to the amiable and unfortunate Queen, and to the country over which she ought long to have reigned.

A. C. 15

Mary, immediately after her arrival in England, wrote to Elizabeth, expressing the deep sense she entertained of her sister's friendship and generosity, and her eager desire to visit the court of England, and to explain to her Majesty the injuries she had suffered from her rebellious subjects; their deceits, their crimes, and calumnies; and to implore that assistance which her wrongs so loudly called for, and which her sister had so kindly promised.

Her circumstances, indeed, entitled her to compassion, had not justice and generosity been outweighed, in the English court, by policy and self-interest. Elizabeth dreaded a personal interview, and Cecil suggested that it became not a maiden Queen to admit into her presence a woman accused of adultery and murder. Elizabeth, however, according to her usual duplicity, by polite letters condoled with Mary upon her situation, and promised all the favour and protection in her power; but as those compliments were not accompanied with an invitation to London, Mary began to be alarmed. She instantly despatched Lord Fleming to France, and entrusted Lord Herries with letters and a pressing commission to Queen Elizabeth. She urged the necessity of an interview with Elizabeth, in order to explain and prove the perfidy of her enemies. A delay, she said, in the present state of her affairs, was nearly equivalent to destruction. It served to consolidate the usurped re-

Elizabeth's duplicity.

Mary remonstrates.

A. C. 1568.



gency of Murray, and allowed him to waste her dominions ; it disappointed the hopes, discouraged the ardour, and lessened the number of her adherents. If Elizabeth repented of her promises, she ought at least to allow the Princess, who had entered her dominions voluntarily, to depart equally free and unrestrained ; that if she had been deceived in her expectations from her sister in England, she might be allowed to implore the aid of powers who would both commiserate and relieve her afflictions.\*

Shameful deliberation and resolution of Elizabeth and her council.

But Elizabeth was not to be moved by remonstrances ; and the manner of treating the Scottish Queen employed all the acuteness, and all the craftiness of Elizabeth and her council. To restore her to her throne, would give at once the decided superiority to her party, which was already very powerful ; and then Murray and the lords of his faction, who were the firm and avowed friends of England, would feel the severe vengeance of their irritated Queen. Mary might contract alliances with foreign courts, and revive her immediate pretensions to the English crown. To suffer her to proceed to France, was no less dangerous. The French King, if the commotions excited by his Huguenot subjects were quelled, would endeavour to reinstate his sister and ally in her dignity. England would thereby lose the advantages of the treaty of Leith, might see a foreign enemy directing the Scottish nation, and perhaps invading England where it was most defenceless. It appeared,

\* Camden, p. 51.

therefore, necessary to detain her in England, and that, even there, she must be strictly confined ; otherwise, her beauty, her address, insinuation, and sufferings, would draw around her, not only those of her own religion, but also all who disliked the present government, or who believed that Mary's title to the English crown was preferable to that of the Queen who wore it.\*

A. C. 15

In the meantime, the Regent had followed up the success of his victory. He had taken possession of the castles of Hamilton and Draffan ; and while Lord Ruthven, with a considerable force, had stopped, at the banks of the Tay, the Earl of Huntly, with two thousand men, the Regent himself, at the head of four thousand horse and two thousand foot, scattered the remains of the Queen's army, and wreaked his vengeance upon her adherents, and upon their properties, through Clydesdale, Galloway, Nithsdale, Annandale, and Tweeddale. As his ambition was boundless, his resentments were implacable. He let loose all the terrors of his power, and meant to assemble a parliament, to sanction his misdeeds.† Yet, amidst the towering of his pride, he trembled at the apprehension of the activity, spirit, and resources of his Sovereign. His chief hope and resource was in Elizabeth. He knew her rancour against Mary ; and, resolving to enflame it, he despatched to London his secretary (Wood), armed with complaints against the Scottish Queen, representing her as accessory to the murder of her

Murray  
strengthened  
his power

Cajoles  
Elizabeth.

\* Anderson, vol. iv. p. 56, &c.

† His enmity to Lochinvar, who adhered to the Queen, caused him to destroy the house of Kenmure on the 16th of June.



A. C. 1562.

husband, and justifying his own conduct. These complaints reached Elizabeth, most opportunely, while she was deliberating with her council upon Mary's case. She immediately wrote, with her own hand, an answer to the Regent, approving and accepting his proposal of exculpating himself and accusing the Queen; and informed him, that she would impartially judge and determine between his Sovereign and him. She admonished him, in the meantime, to forbear all hostility, by arms or by law, against the Queen's party, and to prepare the matter of his own defence.\*

Correspondence of the Queens.

Elizabeth delayed not to answer the Queen of Scots' despatches by Lord Herries; but with a view to ensnare and entangle her in greater difficulties, Mr. Middlemore, Elizabeth's envoy, with many professions of friendship from his Sovereign, informed Mary that it was with great reluctance that the Queen of England could not, without loss of reputation, admit into her royal presence the Scottish Queen, on account of the infamous aspersion that was cast on her character; that her innocence could only be established by an honourable trial; that it would afford her great joy to receive her sister into her capital, when her innocence was legally declared; that she had advised Murray to refrain from injuring the house of Hamilton and her other friends, and desired that she should issue a similar caution to her partisans, and that she would allow no French troops to be introduced into the Castle of Dumbarton, or into any part of

\* Anderson, vol. iv. p. 68. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 73-74.

Scotland ; and, finally, intimated the propriety of removing her farther from the frontiers of Scotland, that she might be less exposed to the attempts of her enemies.\* A. C. 11

Mary ridiculed the pretence of her removal farther from the frontier. She did not apprehend, she said, that her rebellious subjects would lay siege to Carlisle Castle. She scouted the prohibition of French troops from Scotland, unless Elizabeth would afford her immediate and effective aid. She spurned at every thing under the shape of a trial. Who was to be her judge? As an independent Queen, she could acknowledge none. She would not place the Crown of Scotland at the feet of a foreign power, and especially of one who had constantly protected and supported her rebels. Was she to demean herself, by putting herself on a level with her rebellious subjects, and, together with them, plead at the bar of a superior judge? No! she had rather die, than meet dishonour.

Not content with the spirited answers she had returned to Elizabeth's ambassador, she wrote to that Queen in a style suited to the dignity of a queen, and to the innocence of an injured woman. "I came," said she, "into your dominions, in consequence of the assurances I had received in my confinement in Lochleven ; and I find I have only exchanged one prison for another. I fled to you as my nearest relation, and most sincere friend ; I imagined I did you honour in choosing you, in preference to any other prince, to be the re-

\* Anderson's Coll. vol. iv. p. 68. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 73.

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“ storer of an injured Queen ; and yet you refuse  
 “ either to see or hear me. Was it ever known  
 “ that a prince was blamed for hearing in person  
 “ the complaints of those who appealed to his jus-  
 “ tice against the false accusations of their ene-  
 “ mies? You admitted into your presence the bas-  
 “ tard Murray, laden with the guilt of rebellion  
 “ and treason ; and you refuse that indulgence to  
 “ me, a princess, your relation and equal, who feel,  
 “ and am ready to prove myself innocent. Your  
 “ severity encourages my enemies, disheartens my  
 “ friends, and ruins my interest. When restored  
 “ to my liberty, I will make my innocence mani-  
 “ fest in presence of my good sister, as my friend,  
 “ but not as my judge. Let Morton and Maitland,  
 “ the real contrivers of the murder of my husband,  
 “ be sent for. It will give me pleasure to meet  
 “ them, face to face, before the Queen and nobility  
 “ of England, in Westminster Hall. If you are  
 “ inclined not to know me as a sister, and to with-  
 “ hold your kindness, abstain at least from rigour  
 “ and injustice. Be neither my friend nor my  
 “ enemy. Maintain the coldness of neutrality. If  
 “ you do not choose to assist me, at least do not  
 “ furnish aid to the rebels who have driven their  
 “ Sovereign from the throne. Suffer me to implore  
 “ the aid of other princes, whose squeamishness on  
 “ this head will be less, and whose resentment of  
 “ my loss will be greater.”\*

These remonstrances, equally magnanimous and  
 just, did not stagger the purposes of Elizabeth.

\* Anderson, vol. iv. p. 94. Ibid. p. 102.

She was determined to be the umpire between the Scottish Queen and her subjects. She wished, indeed, that Mary should propose that procedure ; but in case of her refusal, Elizabeth had other pretences ready, in support of her arbitration. The obsolete and ill-founded claim of England's superiority over Scotland was revived ; and the Countess of Lennox, hitherto ill used, was now brought forward, imploring, with tears, Elizabeth's justice to bring the Scottish Queen to a trial for her pretended share in Darnley's murder.

A. C. 1568.

Elizabeth  
resolves to be  
umpire.

Meantime, Mary was transferred from Carlisle to Bolton Castle,\* at a greater distance from the borders, that she might have fewer opportunities of escape. There could be no shadow of justice in her detention as a prisoner ; but Elizabeth and her ministers were determined to bring her to a trial, with the hope, as well as the desire, of entailing disgrace upon her.

Mary re-  
moved to  
Bolton.

The nobles who adhered to Mary wrote repeatedly to Elizabeth, beseeching her to act the part that became her for restoring their Queen. They expressed their own unanimity and strength in her cause, and the treachery, treason, and arms of Murray, with his faction. They urged the dangerous example of encouraging subjects to rebel against their sovereigns, and the injustice of detaining an independent and innocent princess in captivity. They respectfully, but firmly, assured her, that, if she refused her countenance to faithful subjects, and supported rapacious traitors, they

Mary's party  
write to Eli-  
zabeth.

\* A castle of Lord Scrope, on the borders of Yorkshire.

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would sound the wrongs of their Queen in the ears of all the sovereigns of Europe, and call upon them, as they tendered the security of their thrones, to chastise her enemies, and re-establish her in her kingdom.\*

As Elizabeth returned no answer to these remonstrances, and still kept up a correspondence with the Regent, who, even in violation of the stipulations between Elizabeth and him, presumed to summon a Parliament, in order to proceed to extremities, the Queen's nobles collected their retainers, and took the field with so formidable a force, that the Regent was unequal to oppose them. But Mary, still duped by the cunning of Elizabeth, readily entered into the pretended pacific scheme; and, by a letter, urged her friends to disband their troops.† The Regent then proceeded to hold his Parliament, and forfeitures were passed against the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishop of Ross, Lord Claud Hamilton, and some other persons of distinction among the Queen's friends. The eloquence of Maitland with difficulty prevented attainders against the Earls of Huntly and Argyle, the Queen's lieutenants in the north and south.

To overcome the aversion of the Scottish Queen to submit to a trial of her cause before Elizabeth or her commissioners, as judges, the shrewd and artful genius of Cecil suggested a measure seemingly different, but which equally served his views, viz. a trial, not of Mary, but of Murray and his faction, who, if they could justify their conduct to

Mary, deceived, bids her troops disband.

Another Regent's Parliament.

Cecil's cunning brings on Mary's trial.

\* Anderson, vol. iv. p. 120, &c.

† Ibid. p. 125.

the satisfaction of English commissioners, should be continued in their estates and honours ; but if they failed in that proof, they should be abandoned to the justice or the mercy of their Queen. Should Mary agree to this proposal, a treaty might be concluded, by which Elizabeth, on certain conditions, might reduce Mary's refractory subjects to obedience, and replace her on her throne. Mary, deceived by this seeming attention to her dignity as a queen, and by a promise more flattering than she had received for some time past, contrary to the opinion of her best counsellors, gave a reluctant assent, and promised to send commissioners to the conference, which was appointed to be held in the city of York. Elizabeth required the Regent to send thither deputies, properly instructed, for vindicating his conduct in presence of her commissioners. Murray, though he felt the humiliation, and dreaded the consequences, yet dared not refuse. Elizabeth's commands were neither to be disputed nor disobeyed.

The commissioners appointed by Elizabeth, to hear and determine this important cause, were the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadler, the confidant of Cecil. The Queen of Scots was represented by Lesly, Bishop of Ross ; the Lords Livingston, Boyd, and Herries ; Gavin Hamilton, Commendator of Kilwinning ; Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar ; and Sir James Cockburn of Skirling. On the opposite side, Murray was obliged to attend in person, because his associates declined the office, unless he himself consented to share the odium and danger with them. The Earl of Mor-

A. C. 1564

Commissioners appointed.

A. C. 1568.



ton, the Bishop of Orkney, the Commendator of Dunfermline, and Lord Lindsay, were joined in commission with him. James M'Gill, Henry Balnaves, George Buchanan, Maitland of Lethington, and some others, attended as counsellors. Maitland owed this distinction to policy, rather than affection. He was very unwilling to be of the party : he had declared himself in strong terms against the nomination of deputies, and the arbitration of Elizabeth ; he was meditating an open return to his Sovereign, and was desirous of staying at home, and profiting by the absence of the Regent and the hopes of his fall, to strengthen the party he now wished to join. It was for these reasons that the Regent feared to leave behind him a man of such superior abilities, and whose views were so contrary to his own.

Meet at  
York ;  
October 4.

The commissioners of all the parties met at York, on the 4th of October. The adjusting of the preliminaries occupied several days. As Mary had agreed to the conferences on the express condition of being restored to her throne at their termination, her deputies insisted that the promise of the English Queen to that effect should appear in the powers given to her commissioners. Murray required confirmation of the assurance which he had already received, that, in the event of conviction, Mary should never return to Scotland. These contrary demands, which already testified the crooked policy which had existed in the English cabinet, were conceded.\* Lethington, upon hearing the ample powers of the English commissioners, ob-

\* Anderson, vol. iv. part. 2d, p. 11.

served that the object of Elizabeth seemed not to be the promoting a reconciliation of the parties, or to effectuate the restoration of their Sovereign, but to cast a blemish upon the Queen of Scots, and draw her within the power of her own umpirage and sentence. He called upon the Earl of Murray and his associates to pause, and to reflect what the Princes of Europe would think of a public charge of guilt, brought against the reputation of their Sovereign. He asked, how they would apologize to their King, when he arrived at manhood, for so bold and so insolent an accusation. He thought it were better to wave so scandalous an impeachment.\* The Duke of Norfolk observed, it was their duty to proceed according to the commissions which had brought them together.

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The commissioners of the Scottish Queen, as plaintiffs, opened the charges against Murray and his associates, that they had risen in arms against their Sovereign; had treacherously confined her in Lochleven, compelling her to resign her crown, and making use of her son's name to colour their usurpation of all the royal authority.

October 8.  
Mary's deputies open the charge.

It was expected that Murray would have rested his justification on the part which it was pretended Mary had acted in the murder of Darnley, and would have produced what evidence he could, in support of his charge. The English commissioners, as well as his own associates, knew that he could not vindicate his own conduct, without charging the murder upon the Queen; and they also knew,

\* Camden, p. 412.



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Murray's  
fear and cunning.

that he had not hitherto shewn any delicacy upon branding her publicly and privately with that horrid deed. But the Regent, notwithstanding the encouragement he had received from Elizabeth, was assailed with lively apprehensions, on hearing the heavy accusations brought against him. The artful and versatile genius of Maitland increased his alarms. He waited on the English commissioners, and sought permission to relate to them the doubts which held him in suspense. They must perceive that the lives and properties of himself and his associates were at stake. He would lay before them, as private individuals, the documents he meant to adduce in proof of the guilt of the Scottish Queen, and ask their opinion whether these proofs would be considered as sufficient to establish the charge ; whether, if it were established, the judges would pronounce sentence ; whether security would be given that Mary should never be restored to her throne ; and, lastly, whether the Queen of England would approve of his proceedings and those of his party, maintain the government of the young King, and support himself in the regency already confirmed by act of Parliament. He then laid before them translations of eight letters, supposed to have been written by Mary to Bothwell, some before the murder of her husband, others before the seizure of her person ; two contracts of marriage, said to have been mutually signed ; and a collection of amatory sonnets, said to have been written by Mary, and sent to Bothwell. To these questions the English deputies replied, that their commission was sufficiently ample

to proceed with the controversy, and even to declare that their Sovereign would not restore the Scottish Queen to her crown, if satisfactory proofs of her guilt should be produced. But with regard to her subsequent conduct towards Mary, the sovereignty of her son, and the regency of the Earl of Murray, they could not answer: these were points to be canvassed in an after period. These replies of the commissioners did not satisfy the Regent and his associates; and, at their request, the English deputies wrote to Elizabeth for additional instructions.\* The Regent, however, pretended that he could answer the charges imputed to him and his faction, independently of the murder, which would form a distinct matter of controversy. The infamy of the marriage with Bothwell, he said, made it necessary for his friends to take up arms in order to dissolve it; to set the Queen at liberty from the controul of an unprincipled man; to preserve the life of the young Prince, and the tranquillity of the realm: that the confinement of the Queen was owing to her attachment to a person so odious; that they were compelled to keep her out of the way of him and of his adherents; that she had offered to surrender her crown, if they would permit her to possess the murderer of her husband; that afterwards, fatigued with the troubles of royalty, she wished to abdicate her crown, and that they had accepted, but not extorted, her resignation; that the King had accordingly been crowned, and he himself, at the Queen's urgent desire, had been

A. C. 1568.

Flimsy apology.

\* Haynes, p. 498, &c. Anderson, vol. iv. p. 55-63. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 130-138.

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admitted to the regency; that, finally, the three Estates, assembled in Parliament, had sanctioned these appointments. To a defence so weak, so false, and so unsatisfactory to the judges, the Queen's commissioners, from the facts already related, retorted a most victorious rejoinder.\*

Intrigues.

During the conference at York, the two Scotch parties, called the King's Lords, and the Queen's Lords, with Murray at the head of the one faction, and the Duke of Chatelherault of the other, were agitated with the most opposite views and interests, and "*tossed between them*," says the Earl of Sussex, "*the crown and public affairs of Scotland, and care neither for the mother nor the child, (as I think before God), but to serve their own turns.*"† But especially an intrigue, of which it is difficult to say who was the contriver, was secretly carried on, and had considerable influence upon the important politics of that period. The Duke of Norfolk was the greatest subject in England, and perhaps of Europe. He was a zealous partisan for the succession of Mary to the English crown. He grieved for the misunderstanding between the two Queens. He dreaded that Elizabeth, to gratify her animosity and jealousy, was secretly disposed to fix a stain upon her rival, which would exclude her and her son from succession to the English throne. He would gladly defeat a purpose which he conceived to be unjust in itself, and highly detrimental to his country. He was afraid, that a public accusation of Mary.

\* Anderson, vol. iv. p. 50-91. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 162-170.

† Letter from York Lodge, vol. ii. p. 1-2, apud Lingard.

however innocent, might be prejudicial to her claim, and was therefore desirous of putting an end to the inquiry.\* Murray, besides the consciousness of his crimes, knew that his charge against Mary would be met with a similar charge against his associates, and that her proofs were better able to bear investigation than his. Should he fail, how could he expect forgiveness from his Sovereign, after endeavouring to brand her character with such infamy? Should his attempt be successful, the death of the young King, who was sickly, might soon bring the Duke, his mortal enemy, to the throne. He perceived that a compromise was advisable. He would give up his proofs, and have Mary pronounced innocent by act of Parliament, provided she would either confirm her resignation of the crown, or, retaining the name of Queen, consent to reside in England, and leave to him the title and authority of Regent.†

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Maitland had all along been averse to the conference and inquiry. He had, as a friend, informed the Scottish Queen of the charge to be brought against her, and had secretly sent her copies of the supposed documents, in a Scottish translation, or rather copies in the original idiom in which they were fabricated, and had exhorted her to adopt a compromise. He had held several conversations with the Duke of Norfolk, which had excited the jealousy of the Regent. The Duke liked Maitland's company, as a man of abilities and elegant manners; but he also learned with pleasure, that

Scheme of marriage of Mary with Norfolk.

\* Minden, p. 179. Anderson, vol. iv. p. 45. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 136.

† Ledge, vol. ii. p. 1-2.

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he was favourable to Mary, and therefore ventured to express to this statesman his surprise that he, a man reputed for wisdom, should concur with the Regent in a measure so dishonourable to themselves, to their Queen, and their country; submitting the public transactions of their nation to the judgment of foreigners, and publishing the ignominy, and exposing the faults of their Sovereign, which both duty and good policy should prompt them to conceal and cover. The rights of the son, also, might be wounded through the mother, and thus the prospect of uniting the kingdoms would be destroyed. Maitland assured him that these sentiments coincided entirely with his own. They opened themselves to the Regent: They enforced the arguments that Murray had already been revolving in his mind. The Duke assured him that Elizabeth did not mean to pass sentence upon Mary; and that, after he had been employed to blast her reputation, he would be sacrificed to her fury. The Regent, deeply impressed by the candour and truth of the Duke's expostulation, agreed to alter his purpose. The expedient adopted to quash these odious litigations (by whomsoever contrived and suggested), was the proposed marriage of the Duke of Norfolk with the Scottish Queen. With this view, the Regent agreed not to accuse Mary, and Norfolk agreed to protect the Regent in the favour of Elizabeth, and secure him in the possession of the regency.\* As Lethington believed the Scottish Queen perfectly innocent of the guilt imputed to her by her

\* Camden, p. 414. Melv. Mem. p. 189-90. Crauf. p. 95-96.

enemies, he imparted to Norfolk sufficient proofs to satisfy him on that head ; and Lady Scrope, Norfolk's sister, who resided at Bolton Castle with Mary, entirely confirmed his conviction. He longed for a fit opportunity to offer his hand to that amiable Princess.

But Elizabeth was not inclined to drop the proceedings against Mary, without fixing a stain upon her character. Under the pretence of the distance between York and London, and of the time lost in corresponding upon occurring difficulties, she evoked the inquiry to Westminster. Both the Scottish Queen and the Regent, from different views, were easily brought to approve of this transition.\*

A. C. 15

The conference evoked to Westminster.

The Bishop of Ross had made known to his mistress the Duke of Norfolk's purpose, and his agreement with the Regent. The letter had either been negligently exposed, or Mary had revealed its contents to an unworthy confidant, who gave the intelligence to the Earl of Morton ; and he being angry that the Regent had not consulted him on so important a transaction, informed Cecil, who, of course, soon carried the discovery to his mistress. Elizabeth, now distrustful of Norfolk, added to her commissioners at York, the Earls of Arundel and Leicester, Lord Clinton, Sir Nicholas Bacon, and Sir William Cecil ; the two last inveterate enemies of Mary : and though Lord Scrope had been vigilant and faithful in his trust, yet because he was Norfolk's brother-in-law, she ordered the Scottish

\* Haynes, p. 484.

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Queen to be removed from Bolton to Tuthbury in Staffordshire, and to be committed to the care of the Earl of Shrewsbury, the owner of that castle.\*

November 22.

Mary, upon learning that Murray had been admitted to the royal presence, and received with every mark of respect and affection, saw, with sorrow, that a dark and mysterious plot was devised for her ruin. She immediately wrote to her commissioners, ordering them to demand of the Queen, in presence of the English nobles and foreign ambassadors, that she might be confronted with her accusers before all those illustrious persons; and that her deputies should, at the same time, complain of the usage she had hitherto met with, and remonstrate, that to welcome and confer with the Regent, whilst she, a free Princess, was denied that honour, was a degrading insult to her, a mockery of justice, and an evident anticipation of partial judgment; that her rebellious subjects had been supported and maintained against her; that they enjoyed liberty, and were encouraged to accuse her, while she languished in imprisonment, and laboured under every disadvantage; that from such collusion, heads of accusation might be preferred against her, to which her deputies were not prepared to reply, and which she, in person, was best qualified to confute; that all the Queen's fair promises of respect and kindness had been uniformly infringed and violated; that, for all these reasons, she renewed her just demand of meeting her accusers, face to face, in presence of the Queen and

Mary complains of partiality.

Insists on being heard by the Queen, and confronted with her accusers.

\* Haynes, p. 487.

the foresaid honourable witnesses ; and, finally, if that equitable request were refused, she hereby instructed them to declare that their powers were withdrawn, and that she recalled her consent to the conference at Westminster, and protested, that whatever was done there, was to be held null and invalid.\*

A. C. 186

Murray received the most favourable answers he could have wished for, to the questions which he had proposed at York.† Encouraged by the Queen, and stimulated by her ministers and by his own colleagues, he abandoned Norfolk, and proceeded to accuse his Sovereign. After a pretended reluctance and deceitful apology, for an impeachment, of which his own conscience reproached him with the falsehood and guilt, he brought forward his charge, that “ Mary had been of foreknowledge, “ counsel, and device, persuader and commander of “ the murder of her husband, and had intended to “ cause the innocent Prince to follow his father, “ and so to transfer the crown from the right line “ to a bloody murderer, and godless tyrant, whom “ she had screened, by her favour, from the pursuits of justice.”‡ He added, that the Estates of the realm, finding her unworthy to reign, had ordered her resignation of the Crown, the coronation of her son, and the establishment of the regency of the Earl of Murray.¶ If any of these

Murray encouraged ;

accuses his sovereign.

December

\* Goodall, vol. ii. p. 184.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 200.

‡ Anderson, vol. iv. part 2d, p. 119.

¶ Will the reader be surprised, that Murray and his associates at York affirmed, upon oath, that Mary's resignation of the crown, and his nomination to the regency, were the acts of her free will ; and, at Westminster, they asserted upon oath, that these had been the result of a command or order of the three Estates ?—See Anderson's Coll. vol. iv. p. 67, 120.



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crimes should be denied, he was ready to produce the most ample proofs and undoubted evidence of the charge.\*

Lennox introduced as  
accuser.

By Elizabeth's malicious artifice, a new accuser was introduced before the commissioners. The Earl of Lennox, bewailing the tragical and unnatural murder of his son, implored Elizabeth's justice against the Scottish Queen, whom he accused, upon oath, of being the author of that crime, and produced papers, which he pretended would substantiate his allegation.

Mary's commissioners expressed their surprise and indignation upon hearing their Queen loaded with such enormous calumnies; but either they had not, in due time, received their Sovereign's letter, or had been cajoled by Elizabeth's professions of regard and protection of their mistress, so that Mary's demand, remonstrance, and protest, had not been brought forward so opportunely as they ought to have been. Her deputies, however, immediately after the charge, requested an audience of the English Queen, and demanded, that as Murray and his company had been admitted into her presence to accuse their Sovereign, she also might be personally admitted to prove her innocence; and that, in the meantime, her accusers ought to be detained, to receive, at the close of the inquiry, the punishment which they doubtless would be found to deserve. But finding that their petition to the Queen, and their application to the council, were in vain, they, by the advice of the Duke of

December 3.

Mary's deputies protest against the conference.

\* Goodall, vol. ii. p. 200.

Chatelherault, and of the French and Spanish ambassadors, declared that the conference was at an end.

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This protestation, offered at this critical juncture, when such a bold and disgraceful accusation had been preferred against Mary, has been, by her enemies, represented as the evasion of a guilty conscience, and a wretched expedient to elude a trial, from which she could anticipate nothing but conviction. But every unbiassed and discriminating person must see, that this gloss is equally illiberal and illogical. Mary's demand was just and reasonable: it was what is never refused to the meanest culprit. She had shewn the absolute necessity, as well as the justice, of her claim: yet this privilege is denied her, and a demand is made for the vouchers of her guilt. A much more natural inference, to be drawn from this manner of acting, is, that Elizabeth, with her council, sought not the discovery of truth, but the condemnation of the captive Queen. The sequel will shew, that Mary's threat of interrupting the conference was intended to extort Elizabeth's consent to her demand; and that she nowise flinched from a fair inquiry, but rather anticipated the manifestation of her innocence, and of the accumulated guilt of her accusers, if confronted with them.

Mary's deputies had remonstrated, that, by the accusations made by the adversaries of their Queen, the true meaning of the conference was infringed. It had been understood that the crown, person, and honour of the Scottish Queen, were guarded against every assault or injury; that no judicial proceed-

Their remonstrance.

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ings should take place, and yet she was actually arraigned as a criminal, while she was not even allowed to appear in her own defence ; that this was an evident proof that no good was intended towards her. They considered this proceeding as the unprincipled device of usurpers and traitors. It was not, they said, to punish the murderers of the King, that the Earl of Murray and his associates had been induced to rebel : it was to possess themselves of the sovereign power. They had advanced themselves to this greatness, and were unwilling to be despoiled of it.\* They had profited profusely by the liberality of the Queen, and they dreaded that the necessities of the crown might require a revocation of the royal property, by which revocation their wealth and estates might suffer. They were in a desperate state, and had recourse to a desperate remedy : they had preferred an audacious accusation, in order to conceal their own crimes. That some of their number were the contrivers of the King's murder ; that they were the accomplices of Bothwell ; that they had subscribed a bond, conspiring the death of the King ; that their guilt had been attested, in the hearing of ten thousand witnesses, by those of their confederates who had been already executed ; and, finally, that they (Mary's deputies) had protested against the validity of a proceeding, in which the Queen of Scots

\* The Lords who had rebelled, upon the Queen's marriage with Darnley, were summoned to attend a Parliament, in order to forfeiture ; and the Earl of Morton and others dreaded a revocation of several grants (that had been made during the Queen's minority), in a Parliament which was to have been held on the 12th of March 1566, which Parliament was hindered by a plot which brought on the murder of Riccio ; Keith, 320-326.

would necessarily fall a victim to partiality and injustice.\* A. C. 156

But notwithstanding these spirited remonstrances, Secretary Cecil, in conformity with the malicious will of his Sovereign (who, for the defamation of her rival, was anxiously desirous of a judicial production of the vouchers of the impeachment), called upon the Earl of Murray and his associates to make their appearance; and after the Bishop of Ross and his colleagues had retired, a prefatory speech was employed, for drawing from Murray his papers, which bears the marks of that systematic duplicity which characterises all the transactions of Elizabeth with her sister Queen.

When Mary's commissioners waited on Elizabeth, requiring permission for their Sovereign to come up and defend herself, Elizabeth replied, that  
*"as for the Quene coming in person, she concluded it best for the said Quene that the accusers should be roundly charged and reproved herein. She meant to charge the Earl of Murray, as reason was, and to reprehend and impugn the accusation, by all good means, in the favour of the said Quene of Scottis."*† Pursuant to this fallacious promise, Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord-Keeper, on the 7th of December, addressed himself to the Earl of Murray, and said: "That, in the opinion of the Queen of England, it appeared strange, that the said Earl should accuse his Sovereign of a crime most horrible, odious to God and man, against law and nature, and which,

Elizabeth's  
fallacy;

\* Goodall, vol. ii. p. 207, 209.

† And. Coll. vol. iv. p. 121, 122.

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“ if proved to be true, would render her infamous in all the kingdoms of the world. But though he had so widely forgotten his duty, yet *had not Elizabeth renounced her love of a good sister, a good neighbour, and a good friend.* And it was her will, that he and his company should produce the papers by which they imagined they were able to maintain their accusation !” This was doubtless *impugning the accusation, by all good means, in favour of the Queen of Scottis.*

imitated by  
Murray.

There could hardly be a more barefaced and impudent mockery of truth, friendship, and justice, than this farce. Yet it is nobly matched by the dissimulation and glaring contradiction of Murray's preconcerted answer. He expressed his deep sorrow for the high displeasure he had given to the Queen of England, by his charge against the Scottish Queen. But to appease her, what will he do ? Will he retract the accusation by which she is so grievously offended ? No ; but he will aggravate it, by proceeding to prove his charge, as indeed he is commanded to do. “ The Queen of Scots,” he said, “ and her deputies, had made it necessary for him to vindicate himself, by discovering her dishonour.” He had not, however, been very squeamish about the preservation of her honour, when he had already exhibited her pretended letters to his Council, and to his Parliament, in the foregoing year ; when he also sent copies of them to Elizabeth in the month of June this year, for her perusal ; and again, four months thereafter, clandestinely laid them before her commissioners at York, and was

only solicitous to know whether they would sufficiently defame his sovereign to answer his purposes. He now again makes an actual and formal exhibition of the letters, contracts, and sonnets, the vouchers by which he hopes to fix and establish her criminality. The chief of the English nobility, viz. the Earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Shrewsbury, Worcester, Huntingdon, and Warwick, were then summoned before the Privy Council, and sworn to secrecy.

The commissioners and counsel were all already pretty well acquainted with the documents that were laid before them; they were also perfectly aware of the enmity entertained, and the crooked policy and injustice intended against Mary by Elizabeth and Murray, as also of the schemes preconcerted between them for her ruin. But it was necessary to lay before the nobles lately called, the proceedings that had previously taken place at York and Westminster. Then other letters, said to have been written by Mary, were also produced, that the handwriting might be compared.

At York, Murray and his associates had offered to swear that the letters which they shewed were in Mary's handwriting. At Westminster, the produced papers were compared with other letters, not afforded by *Mary's deputies*, nor by any indifferent persons, but with letters presented by *the producers themselves*; and now, in presence of the Council, with the six additional earls, the papers are to be collated with letters furnished by Elizabeth herself, which are said to have been written by Mary's own hand, and sent by Mary to the Queen of Eng-

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December  
Nobles ad-  
ed to the  
commission-  
ers.

Unjust man-  
ner of pro-  
cedure.

December

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Mary's defence.

land. But are Elizabeth and her Council to be admitted, both as witnesses and judges? And though we should allow her Majesty that privilege, and give her credit for probity, yet we cannot admit her to testify facts which she could not know. She did not see Mary write these letters; she had never seen her writing at all; she did not pretend to have been present when they were sent: she did not produce any one who saw them written or sent, or who had seen any thing written by Mary. Letthington had told the Duke of Norfolk, at York, that the Queen's handwriting had been frequently counterfeited by himself, as her secretary. Mary, in her instructions to her deputies, previous to the conference at York, says: "*Ye sall affirm, in my name, I never writ ony thing concerning that matter to ony creature. And thair ar divers in Scotland, baith men and women, that can counterfeit my handwriting, and write the like manner of writing quhilk I use, as well as myself, and principallie sic as ar in cumpanie with themselves.*"\* The collation, therefore, might only be that of one forgery with another.

The newly-come lords were told, that at York, Murray and his colleagues had made answer to Mary's commissioners, "*without any special depraving or calumniating the honour of the Quene.*" But did not Murray put these questions to the English commissioners in writing? viz. "1°. *We desire to be resolvit whether ye haif commission to pronounce in the cause of the murther, Giltie,*

\* Goodall, vol. ii. p. 342-343.

*“ or Not Giltie. 2°. In cais she be found giltie, quhether the Quene sall be deliverit in our hands,” &c.* The above assertion, and many other things, were averred in presence of persons who knew them to be falsehoods.

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The forgery of these letters, imputed to Mary, has been so manifestly and victoriously proved by Goodall, Tytler, Stuart, and Whittaker, that I need not trouble my readers with a long dissertation on that subject; yet it were unjust not to submit to their judgment a few of the reasons that have fully convinced and satisfied my own mind of their counterfeit origin.

Proofs of the  
forging of the  
letters.

1. The characters, the crimes and interest of the producers, and the specimen already given of the pretended intercepted letter from the Queen to Bothwell, soon after her surrender on Carberry-hill, and which letter the severest critics of Mary's conduct have abandoned as a forgery.

2. Mary's impressive and constant declaration, that she never wrote any such letters, and of her perfect innocence of the murder of her husband; her retorting that charge against Maitland and Morton as being assenting to that horrid deed.\*  
*“ Desire,”* said she, *“ my good sister the Queen to write, that Lethington and Morton (who be two of the wisest, and most able of them to say most against me) may come; and then let me be there, in her presence, to hear their accusations, and to be heard how I can make my purgations: but I think Lethington would be very loath of that*

\* *“ Mon innocence et la fiance que J'ai en Dieu m'assurent ;”* Haynes, p. 465.



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“ commission. My innocence, and the trust I have  
 “ in God, afford me confidence and solace.”

8. The commissioners, who were honest and candid, strongly suspected that the letters were not genuine. The Earl of Sussex writes, from York :  
 “ If her adverse partee accuse hir of the murther,  
 “ by producing hir letters, she will deny them, and  
 “ accuse the moste of them of manifeste consent to  
 “ the murther, hardly to be denyed ; so as, upon  
 “ the trial on both sydes, her proofs will judycy-  
 “ ally fall beste owte, as yt is thought.”\* Norfolk also, after conversing with Lethington, believed her innocence, and gave proof of his conviction.

4. These letters, as I have already noticed, are alleged to have been intercepted by Morton on the 20th day of June 1567, enclosed in a silver casket, whilst they were carried from the Castle of Edinburgh to Bothwell by his servant George Dalglish; and that this casket, with its contents, was afterwards produced by Morton himself. But how improbable is this story ! These papers, if genuine, contained manifest proofs of Bothwell's guilt. Now, if he had been so foolish as to have preserved them, when he apprehended less danger, yet he had sufficient time and opportunity to have got possession of them, when he must have perceived the danger of their falling into the hands of his enemies ; namely, between his marriage with the Queen, on the 15th of May (which was the signal for the confederates to desert him), and the 6th of June, when he was compelled to retire from Holyroodhouse.

\* Lodge, vol. ii. p. 1-2.

Would he then have neglected to secure those dangerous papers, when the castle, and its keeper, Sir James Balfour, were under his command, and only have thought of sending for them on the 20th of June, when he knew that Sir James Balfour had become his enemy? How foolish to suppose that a person, known to be Bothwell's servant, could have passed through the gates of Edinburgh, then strongly guarded by the troops of the confederates; that he could have got admission to the castle and to its keeper, and to have obtained, or hoped to have carried back, the dangerous parcel without being seized and searched! But if the story had been true, would the Queen's adversaries, for the establishment of a fact so important to their exculpation, have neglected to confront Sir James Balfour with Dalgleish, to prove the delivery of the casket? And yet Dalgleish is never interrogated concerning this matter; nor asked, during his trial, concerning his message, and how he got, and how he lost, possession of the eventful casket. Dalgleish, at his execution, asserted the Queen's innocence, and charged the Earls of Murray and Morton with the contrivance of the murder.\*

5. The confederates were greatly embarrassed for an apology to the court of France for not admitting its ambassador to commune with Mary in her prison of Lochleven, and still more straitened for an excuse to Elizabeth for refusing the same privilege to her ambassador, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton. The letters ought to have stood them in

\* Keith, p. 467.

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good stead on these occasions. According to their later assertions, they had seized these papers on the 20th of June 1567. Now, on the 11th of July, the associates presented an elaborate apology for their conduct to Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, to be laid before Queen Elizabeth, in answer to the instructions she had ordered that ambassador to impart to the rebel faction. At that time, Morton, the pretended seizer of the letters, was in Edinburgh ; so was Sir James Balfour, the pretended deliverer of them. What a glorious defence, and in what glowing colours, might not Lethington or Buchanan have composed from such rich materials as the letters afforded, had they been genuine ! How might the confederates have triumphantly exulted ; covered their rebellion, treason, ingratitude, perfidy, and cruelty, with apparent heroism, patriotism, and justice ; satisfied foreign powers, and drawn the whole body of the Scottish nation to join their party ! Is it credible that those modest men would have neglected such triumphant arguments in their favour, as they could have collected from these documents, if they really had had such in their possession ? Yet, in their answer to Elizabeth's remonstrance, they make no use of any such discoveries. They assert, *that their Sovereign was led captive, and, by fear, force, and other extraordinary and more unlawful means, was compelled to become the bedfellow of another wife's husband* ; and that they had every reason to apprehend “ that Bothwell, to accomplish his “ ambition, and invest himself with the crown of “ the realm, would have sent the son after the fa-

“ ther, *and have made the Queen drink of the same cup.*” Now, the tenor of the letters flatly contradicted these assertions, in as far as regarded the Queen.

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6. On the 4th of December 1567, the confederates assembled in a privy council. A Parliament was soon to be held, and they were confessedly in great embarrassment and trepidation for their vindication. In a proclamation issued against Bothwell, they had imputed to him, not only the murder of the King; they had also charged him with treason, as the *ravisher of the Queen*: and both in that publication, and in their apology to Queen Elizabeth, they assign the aforesaid crimes of Bothwell as their reason for taking up arms, imprisoning the Queen, &c. But now, in this privy council, they bring forth discovered letters, written, they say, and signed by the Queen's own hand, to Bothwell, but with no specification *then*, how or when these letters came into their hands; but afterwards, they date their discovery on the 20th of June preceding. The contents of these letters, they now affirm, were the cause of their rebellion, arming, imprisoning the Queen, usurping the government, and all their conduct from the 10th of February preceding: yet their hostile armament against the Queen, and her imprisonment, were antecedent to the date of the pretended discovery. Here, then, is a glaring contradiction betwixt their pretended causes of their treasonable deeds, and also betwixt their former avowed declarations, and their act of privy council.

7. In the Parliament of the 15th December, the

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letters are again produced, as a complete exculpation of all the ill usage which the Queen has met met with, *or may yet have to endure*. But here they are not subscribed, but *halelie* written by the Queen. Here is vision against vision : which shall be believed ? But besides, they are neither dated, sealed, nor directed. Is it very credible, that writings, if signed, and containing flagrant proofs of the writer's guilt and folly, would be sent as loose cards, which Hubert or Paris, a poor thoughtless fellow, might amuse himself or his comrades with by the way, in going to deliver them. But if they are not subscribed, they may be from *Alison Craig* as likely as from Queen Mary ; and as they are neither dated nor directed, they may be to the *Earl of Arran*, or to the man in the moon, as much as to the Earl of Bothwell. Poor Hubert also, at his execution, declared, *as he should answer before God*, that he never carried any such letters, and that the Queen was neither *participant nor of counsayle* in the cause (of the King's death.)\*

8. Afterwards, the objectionable writings attributed to Mary increase in number and in new designations. In the council of 4th December, and of the Parliament 15th of December 1567, as likewise on the 22d of June 1568, when the letters are sent by Murray to Elizabeth for her perusal, they are only *privie letters*. " Sic letters," says Murray, " as we haif of the Queen, our Soverane Lord's " mother, that sufficientlie, in our opinions, preivis " hir consenting to the murthure of the King her

\* *Leslie* apud Keith, p. 367.

“lauchful husband.”\* But, on the 16th of September 1568, by a receipt given by Murray to Morton, we receive new information. They seemed before to be a bundle of loose cards or memorandums, tied up together; but now we hear Murray acknowledge, with great gravity, that he had received “*fra James Erle of Morton ane silver box, ower gilt with gold, with all missive letteris, contractis or obligationis for marriage, sonettis or luif balletis*, and all utheris letteris contenit thairin.....Quhilk box, and haill pecis within the samyn, wer takin and fund with umquhile George Dalglesche, servand to ye said Erle Bothvile, upon the xx day of Junii, ye geir of God 1567 geirs,” &c.† All these additional pieces had lain in the bottom of the box unnoticed, but must now make part of the formidable array drawn up against Mary at York and Westminster. The box or casket was indeed Mary’s. She had received it from her first husband, Francis II., whose initials it bore. Mary made it the repository of her jewels. When the harpies had rifled it of its precious contents, they had appropriated it to the vile purpose of containing their forged documents, which are said to have been found upon Dalglish. The usurpers wisely did not tell this tale till after the execution of Dalglish: he could not then contradict their story.

9. Mary’s adversaries assert, that the letters imputed to her were originally written in French. Had they been genuine, they most probably would

\* Goodall, vol. ii. p. 75–76.

† Ibid. p. 90–91.

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have been composed in French, as that was the language which was most natural to her, and in which she generally wrote: but if they were in French, what need was there for translations at all? Queen Elizabeth, her councillors and commissioners, surely understood French. The translations, additions, and alterations, in which they were exhibited, only serve to prove their forgery. Mr. Goodall, by the most judicious criticism, has shewn that they had been first composed in the Scottish dialect; that, secondly, they had, from the Scotch, been translated into Latin (no doubt by Buchanan); and, thirdly, that, from the Latin, they had been translated into French.\* Mr. Whittaker has proved that the letters, clandestinely shewn to the commissioners at York, were in Scotch, by the extracts thence taken, and sent from York to Queen Elizabeth; which extracts are still extant, and exactly agree with the presently remaining Scotch copy: and Murray offered then to swear, that the letters laid before the commissioners at York were in Mary's handwriting.† Lethington sent, about the same time, a copy of the letters to Queen Mary *in Scotch*. Why did he not send a copy of the French originals, if such had existed?

Dr. Lingard observes, in a note, that Mr. Laing has victoriously refuted Mr. Goodall's argument, by shewing that our present French letters are not copies of the original French letters, but only translations from the Latin: but has Mr. Laing proved that the pretended original French letters

\* Goodall's Examination of the Letters. † Whittaker, vol. i. p. 805.

ver existed? Mr. Laing had not the merit of that  
 pretended refutation. Hume and Robertson both  
 acknowledged (after Mr. Goodall had proved it),  
 that the present French letters are translations  
 from the Latin: but they begged leave to assume,  
 and to maintain, that the present copy was not  
 the same as was exhibited at Westminster. Dr.  
 Robertson does not positively assert the existence  
 of such originals; he only insinuates it, and calls  
 upon Mr. Goodall to disprove it. This would in-  
 deed be a herculean labour: but Mr. Goodall has  
 proved, that the Latin copy is a translation from  
 the Scotch; and surely Mr. Buchanan might have  
 been entrusted with the original French, if such  
 existed: nobody will pretend that Buchanan did  
 not understand the French. Murray, no doubt,  
 did produce his documents in French at Westmin-  
 ster, and, together with his associate Morton, de-  
 clared on honour and conscience that these were in  
 Mary's handwriting, as he had offered to swear  
 at York, that the letters in Scotch were Mary's  
 autograph. Upon the whole, as Dr. Stuart\* justly  
 observes, "the letters were fabricated; the ambi-  
 'tion of the confederates, the murder of the King,  
 'the protection of Bothwell; the bond, the mar-  
 'riage, their rebellion, the subversion of the go-  
 'vernment, the regency of the Earl of Murray,  
 'and the letters, are all linked together in an in-  
 'separable connection. They establish, beyond a  
 'doubt, the innocence of the Queen; and vouch

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\* Stuart, vol. i. p. 378. The ambition and rebellious practices of Mur-  
 ray and his faction, are forcibly shewn by the nobles, barons, and clergy of  
 Mary's loyal subjects, in their instructions to her deputies; Ibid. and Good-  
 all, vol. ii. p. 357-359.



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“ and testify, in the clearest manner, the unlimited  
 “ perfidiousness, and the execrable cruelty of her  
 “ enemies.”

Obsequious-  
 ness of the  
 nobles.

No demand was made upon the English nobility to pronounce or declare their opinion upon the authenticity or forgery of the documents laid before them, or of the guilt or innocence of the accused Queen. Elizabeth only required that they should gratify her prudery, and humble her rival, by acknowledging that her high character of irreprehensible conduct and spotless virginity ought not to allow a Princess so aspersed to appear in her presence. The loyalty and obsequiousness of the nobility, their exalted idea and well-grounded persuasion of the immaculate purity of their virgin Queen, could not allow them to hesitate upon approving a resolution founded upon the laudable caution of avoiding whatever might throw a shade upon the fame of that delicate virtue of which she was so perfect a model ! The nobles seem to have thought themselves very well off, by escaping any farther hurt to their consciences, or incurring the heavy displeasure of their Sovereign.

Mary urged  
 to demit the  
 crown ;

Cecil, with all his interlineation and mending of the records, seems to have been disappointed ; and Elizabeth and he would now be content that Mary, in this embroiled situation of her affairs, would condescend to demit her crown in favour of her son ; and, leading a quiet life in England, with or without the title of Queen, allow Murray, under the controul of Elizabeth, to manage the kingdom of Scotland. Knollis, therefore, was secretly despatched to the Scottish Queen, who was still at Bol-

ton, to suggest the proposal of the said compromise as from himself, in order to sound her dispositions. But Mary, indignant at hearing her demand of being allowed to prove her innocence in the royal presence, and that of other illustrious persons, face to face with her impudent accusers, had been refused, and so ignominious a proposal made to her, immediately sent orders to her commissioners to resume the conferences, to repel the accusation, and to retort the charge upon her accusers; and to declare to the Queen and council, that “Murray and “his accomplices had falsely, traitorously, and “wickedly lied, in imputing to her the crime, of “which they themselves were the authors, inven- “tors, doers, and some of them the very execu- “tioners;” that the falsehood of their base allegation, that she had intended to make her son follow his father, was manifestly proved *by the natural love which a mother bears to her only bairn*; that the hypocrisy of their pretended zeal for the preservation of the young Prince might easily be perceived from the notorious fact of their base and treasonable attempt to have slain him in her womb; that she needed not the admonition of Elizabeth, “that she ought to answer the charge made against “her in some way, which might convince the public that it was groundless.” She herself was sufficiently conscious that she ought not to allow such vile calumnies to pass over in silence, and therefore required that Elizabeth would allow her the obviously necessary means of disproving the false and horrid libels of her rebellious subjects, by affording to her commissioners copies of the papers

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refuses, and  
accuses her  
accusers.

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by which her adversaries pretended to substantiate their calumnious charges, and also to submit to her own inspection the pretended originals ; to allow her a reasonable time to collect her witnesses and her proofs ; to detain meantime her accusers ; and, as she had justly claimed, to be brought to confront them in her Majesty's presence. She then pledged herself to name certain individuals among them, to convict them of the murder, and make known their guilt to the whole world.\*

Elizabeth  
and Murray's  
faction em-  
barassed.

This bold and triumphant tone of Mary, inspired by conscious innocence, perplexed Elizabeth and her Secretary. Murray and his faction felt all the bitterest pangs of fear and guilt. To be accused by their Sovereign, and to be compelled to undergo a trial, made them tremble for the consequences. The Regent was impatient to return to Scotland. He stimulated Lord Lindsay to assert the honour of the faction by the way of arms. Lindsay imprudently sent a challenge to Lord Herries. Herries answered, that he had not asserted any thing with regard to Lindsay in particular; but had said, that, in the company of the Earl of Murray, there were persons concerned in the murder, and that if any of those persons to whom he had alluded should subscribe such a writing as the Lord Lindsay had sent him, he would repeat the charge, and fight him. Murray and Morton were the persons alluded to, and who were expected to take up the gauntlet ; but they declined, and exposed their courage, as well as their innocence, to some suspicion.†

Lord Lind-  
say's affected  
challenge to  
Lord Herries.

\* Goodall, vol. ii. p. 265, &c.

† State papers, apud Stuart, vol. i. p. 409.

The more eagerly Mary pressed the renewal of the conferences, the more Murray and his associates shrunk from farther investigation of their conduct, and the more Elizabeth recoiled from admitting Mary to plead her own cause, and bring home guilt to her adversaries. She dreaded the impression her presence might make on the nobility ; she dreaded the eloquence of injured innocence. Elizabeth repeatedly essayed to extort from Mary a resignation of her crown, but was as often defeated. The total oblivion of her cause, held out to Mary as the price of that concession, she spurned with contempt. She even reproached Sir Francis Knollis and Lord Scrope, (Elizabeth's agents in that business) for their affected kindness in urging her to a measure so mean, and, with a dignity before which they veiled, bade them trouble her no more with a proposal which she resolved to die rather than consent to ; "*for the last word of my life,*" said she, "*shall be that of a Queen of Scotland.*"\*

A. C. 1560

Mary's high spirit.

The humiliation of Murray was neither the interest nor the will of Elizabeth. He, with his accomplices, was called upon to attend the Privy Council at Hampton Court. Cecil, in the name of his mistress, allayed the terrors of Murray and his faction, by telling them, " that, since their arrival in England, nothing had been objected to their conduct, that she could reckon detrimental to their honour, or inconsistent with their duty as subjects. On the other hand, they had produced

1569.

\* " Quant à la demission de ma couronne je vous prie de ne me plus troubler : Car je me ressous plutôt de mourir, que de le faire : et la dernière parole de ma vie, sera celle d'une Reine d'Ecosse ;" Goodall, vol. ii. p. 301.

A. C. 1569.

Ridiculous  
issue of the  
trial.

“ nothing against their Sovereign on which she  
 “ could found an unfavourable opinion of her ac-  
 “ tions ; and, for this reason, she resolved to leave  
 “ all the affairs of Scotland precisely in the same  
 “ situation in which she had found them at the be-  
 “ ginning of the conference.” The Queen’s com-  
 missioners were at length dismissed, nearly in the  
 same manner. The victory was undoubtedly on  
 Mary’s side, after all the partiality shewn to her  
 enemies. It was even then acknowledged by the  
 chief of the English nobility. It is now so evi-  
 dently proved, that any candid person would be  
 ashamed to deny it.

January 9.


This conclusion of so important an inquiry,  
 though ridiculous in itself, was yet most favour-  
 able to Murray and his faction, by allowing them  
 to reap the fruit of their villanies ; and it was also  
 conducive to Elizabeth’s future schemes. She  
 therefore gave up, as forgeries, the writings im-  
 puted to Mary, in order to protect the Earl of  
 Murray, whom she supplied with a considerable  
 sum of money, and engaged to support the young  
 King’s authority. She, however, called a privy  
 council, in which there appeared the Duke of Nor-  
 folk, the Marquis of Northampton, the Earls of  
 Pembroke, Derby, Bedford, and Leicester, with  
 Sir William Cecil and Sir Walter Mildmay. Be-  
 fore this honourable assembly, Murray, with his  
 associates, and Mary’s commissioners, were con-  
 fronted with each other. Mary’s deputies were  
 asked if they would accuse the other party in the  
 name of their Queen, or in their own names. They  
 replied, that they had received special instructions,

in the handwriting, and under the signet of their mistress, to accuse the Earl of Murray and his adherents as *principal authors and inventors, and some of them as executors of the King*; that they had already communicated these instructions to Queen Elizabeth and her council; that they had uniformly offered to defend the innocence of their mistress, and to refute the calumnies of her enemies; and, for that purpose, they had repeatedly solicited and required (though in vain) the exhibition of the writings imputed to her: that whenever these were granted, or even exact copies of them, their Sovereign would act upon her defence, vindicate her charges against her enemies, distinguish respectively the conduct of the persons accused, and fix and ascertain their precise guiltiness in the murder of the King. They insisted that Murray and his associates should be detained in England till the trial should be terminated, according to the rules of justice and equity. To close the proceedings by their dismissal, was a gross infringement of right, and a deed of unjustifiable violence; but if it was so resolved on, they claimed, for their Queen, and for themselves, the same indulgence, and passports to return to their own country. And they took the precaution solemnly to protest, that, if their Sovereign were refused permission to revisit her subjects, while she was detained in England, no deed of her's should have any validity or force to affect her people, or to prejudice her own honour, person, or authority.

A. C. 1562

Remonstrance  
of Mary's  
deputies.

The Earl of Murray and his adherents denied their guilt, but did not enter into any detail for

**A. C. 1569.**  their vindication. The next day, they were admitted into Elizabeth's presence, in order to take their leave. They were allowed to carry with them their pretended original papers: the copies were locked up from the inspection of Mary and her commissioners.

**Murray's  
cunning to  
elude danger.**

But though Murray had obtained Elizabeth's permission to return to Scotland, he was apprehensive of being intercepted on his journey by Mary's friends in the north of England. To escape that snare, he had recourse to his wonted cunning and dissimulation. Although he had shaken himself loose from his engagements made with the Duke of Norfolk at York, yet he observed that it would be highly politic on the present occasion to renew that intrigue. He therefore waited on the Duke himself, and sent Robert Melvil to Queen Mary, who was then at Rippon, on her way to Tuthbury, where (as before noticed) Elizabeth had ordered her to be imprisoned, for greater security. To both the Queen and the Duke, Murray pretended to be sincerely persuaded, that the only expedient to secure the tranquillity of both realms was a marriage between the Scottish Queen and the Duke of Norfolk, a Protestant nobleman, and of the greatest popularity. Neither the Queen nor the Duke deemed it proper to give any specific answer to the proposal: but both were willing to believe that Murray was inclined to support that measure. This, however, was far from his intention; but their too great credulity served his purpose, by procuring orders to the Queen's friends to allow him to proceed on his journey unmolested.

But the project of that marriage began to be widely canvassed throughout England. The greater number of the peers, directly or tacitly, approved of it, as a salutary speculation. Throgmorton was an eager advocate for its advancement. He had withdrawn himself from Cecil, and, attaching himself to Leicester, he warmly suggested to him the advantages of that match, and the evils it might prevent. Leicester repeatedly discussed the scheme with the Duke, together with the Earls of Arundel, Pembroke, and Lord Lumley. The Bishop of Ross, and also Wood, the agent of Murray, were consulted. The result was a letter written to Mary by Leicester's own hand, and subscribed by him, by Norfolk, Arundel, Pembroke, and Lumley, proposing her restoration to her throne, and a confirmation of her claim to the English succession, on the following conditions : 1. That she should attempt nothing prejudicial to the right of Elizabeth or the heirs of her body ; 2. She should conclude a perpetual league, offensive and defensive, with England ; 3. She should allow the establishment of the new religion in Scotland ; 4. She should receive into favour her disobedient subjects ; 5. She should procure from the Duke of Anjou a renunciation of whatever claim she might have ceded to him ; 6. And finally, she should consent to marry the Duke of Norfolk.

Her answer was satisfactory on all the points, excepting the marriage, on which she demurred, on account of her woful experience : yet, provided Elizabeth's free consent were obtained, she might sacrifice her feelings to their better judgment. The

A. C. 1569.

Scheme of  
marrying the  
Queen of  
Scots to Nor-  
folk.



A. C. 1569.



Concealed  
from Eliza-  
beth.

scheme had been previously communicated to the Kings of France and Spain, and their approbation had been obtained ; but the negotiation had been industriously concealed from Elizabeth. Her repugnance thereto was foreseen ; but hopes were entertained that she might be induced to acknowledge the propriety of a measure universally approved of by her council and nobility. All the primary articles were submitted to the council, and approved of ; but the disclosure to Elizabeth of the projected marriage was left to the management of Leicester, or to the persuasive eloquence of Maitland, who was expected from Scotland. The Lord Boyd was despatched to propose the plan to the royalists, and Wood to conciliate the Regent and his party. The latter divulged the secret to Elizabeth before his departure.\*

The Regent  
fixes himself  
in authority.

Murray, returning to Scotland, was careful to augment his partisans, and fix himself in authority. He assembled at Stirling a convention of the nobles, barons, and burgesses of his faction, and procured their approbation of his proceedings in England. The royalists were enraged at the termination of the conference. The Duke of Chatelherault had returned from France. Mary had invested him with the dignity of Lieutenant-General in Scotland. But the Regent gave him no time to collect the Queen's faithful subjects. Murray assembled an army, and marched to Glasgow. Chatelherault, to save his estates, promised to acknowledge the authority of the King and of the Regent. Argyll

\* Anderson, vol. iii. p. 50-55.

and Huntly, encouraged by a secret negotiation carried on in England in favour of their Queen, stood out for some time ; but Murray having boldly seized Chatelherault, and sent him prisoner, together with Lord Herries, to the Castle of Edinburgh, Argyle and Huntly submitted, and laid down their arms. A. C. 1569.

Boyd and Wood arriving from England, produced some letters publicly; others, in cypher, were delivered from Norfolk and Throgmorton, to Murray and Maitland. All the English nobles, it was said, concurred in forwarding the marriage, and that all depended on the Regent's co-operation. Bothwell, by a formal instrument, had signified from Denmark his consent to a divorce, to be pronounced by a competent tribunal. The Regent, by procuring that divorce, would remove the only obstacle in the way. This was expected from him, in consequence of his promise to Norfolk.\*

Murray assembled a Parliament, and affected to speak in favour of the Queen's liberation. His duplicity on that occasion deceived no one: every body knew he wished to prevent her ascending the throne. His party understood him well. The articles proposed by the English council were rejected; and though the rebels had pretended such zeal for breaking the marriage with Bothwell, yet a motion made, to appoint judges to examine its validity or nullity, was negatived. The Regent's partisans barbarously observed, that if the Queen were so eagerly solicitous to procure the divorce,

July 25.  
Murray and  
his Parlia-  
ment shew  
their malevo-  
lence.

\* Haynes, p. 520. Spottiswood, p. 230.

A. C. 1560.

she had only to apply to the King of Denmark to execute Bothwell as the murderer of her husband, and then she might marry whom she pleased.\* The assembly broke up, with the bitterest animosity and hostility of the factions against one another.

Maitland, seeing Murray's perfidy, began to be apprehensive for his own safety, and fled to his friend the Earl of Athole, then at Perth. The Regent invited him to a convention at Stirling, and pretended he had occasion for his services, in despatches to England. Lethington, suspecting some fraud, obeyed with reluctance. Murray employed Captain Crawford, one of his creatures, to accuse Maitland of being accessory to the murder of the King; and he was arrested and carried prisoner to Edinburgh, but, by the address of Kirkaldy, was rescued, and conducted to the Castle of Edinburgh, which was, in a manner, placed under his command. Thus Murray lost both that strong fortress, and the eminent military skill of Kirkaldy.†

Elizabeth, as we have seen, had already been let into the secret of the proposed marriage. An envoy brought her the proceedings of the Scottish Parliament. It began to be whispered at court, that Mary and Norfolk were secretly contracted to each other. Elizabeth invited Norfolk to dinner, and as he rose from table, she, with a mixture of pleasantry and sarcasm, alluding to a former expression of the Duke, admonished him *to beware on what pillow he reposed his head*. The ominous

Lethington  
arrested.

\* Buchanan, lib. 19.

† Spottiswood, p. 232

allusion alarmed him. Leicester had promised to inform the Queen candidly of the whole proceedings, but had delayed : he fell sick, and Elizabeth hastened to visit him. As she sat by his bedside, he confessed, with sighs and tears, his great fault, in having joined in an attempt to marry her rival to one of her subjects.\* His pardon was easily granted, but Norfolk was severely reprimanded, and forbidden, on his allegiance, to prosecute his scheme. Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, who pretended to dispute with the Scottish Queen her right to the succession, was joined in commission with the Earl of Shrewsbury, for the more secure custody of that Princess, and rendered her imprisonment more intolerable by the excess of his vigilance and rigour.†

A. C. 1569.

Elizabeth's  
indignation  
against the  
marriage.

Murray, threatened with Elizabeth's displeasure, consistently with his character, betrayed the Duke, by putting all his confidential letters into her hands, and affording her all the intelligence in his power, and pleading, as an extenuation of his offence, that he had not been the contriver of the project, nor would have ever assented to it, but from urgent motives of personal safety. The Earls of Arundel and Pembroke were dismissed from court. The Bishop of Ross, Lord Lumley, Throgmorton, and others, were arrested, rigorously examined, ensnaring questions put to each in private, and their answers tortured into accusations of each other. But no traitorous or disloyal intention could be proved against them. Their only fault was the

Murray be-  
trays Nor-  
folk.

\* Camden, vol. i. p. 188.

† Haynes, p. 525-532.

A. C. 1569.

concealment of the design from the Queen, whilst foreign Princes had been consulted. The Duke, with reluctance, obeyed a second call to Windsor, was committed to the Tower, and after more than nine months imprisonment, was released upon his humble submission and promise to hold no farther correspondence with the Scottish Queen.

But a more serious conspiracy soon occupied the attention of Elizabeth and her council. Mary had many friends in the north of England. The base proceeding of alluring a young, beautiful, and accomplished Princess, by flattering promises, to take shelter in their country in her distress, and then imprisoning her, to gratify the jealousy, spleen, and envy of her rival, aroused their chivalry, and caused them to make offers of risking their lives and fortunes in her service. In spite of the vigilance of her keepers, they held a correspondence with her, and informed her of their designs. These offers she for some time waved, through the cautious advice of Norfolk; but the disgrace of that nobleman blasted her hopes, and the appointment of new and barbarous keepers agitated her with violent apprehensions for her life.\* She then solicited the aid of her generous champions, the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, Ratcliffe, brother of the Earl of Sussex, Leonard Dacres, the Nortons, Markenfields, Tempests, &c., who had tendered their services to set her at liberty from the power of her enemies. Immediately the elements of a brewing storm seemed

Insurrection  
in the north  
of England.

\* Haynes, p. 311.

to thicken in the northern counties. The Court was alarmed, but could not trace the surmises of insurrection to their source.

A. C. 1.

The chief object of Mary's friends was to set her at liberty from her prison, and to extort from Elizabeth an acknowledgment that Mary was the heir-apparent of the English throne. But, in order to exalt their power, they had solicited the aid of the Spanish monarch, and, to increase their numbers, they addressed a proclamation to the catholics, to unite in an attempt to restore the ancient religion, and to protect the ancient nobility from ruin. Much, indeed, might have been expected from the real attachment of a great portion of the realm to the catholic faith ; for, according to the testimony of their enemies, "*there were not in the country ten gentlemen that favoured the Queen's proceedings in the cause of religion.*"\* Still more might be hoped from the cruel persecutions by which the catholics were daily and hourly harassed, and the examples of successful insurrections in France and Scotland. If the novelists had been aided by Elizabeth with men and money to wage war against their Sovereigns, the claim was still better to draw the sword in defence of the ancient religion, and the rights of conscience.

On the 16th of November, the banner of insurrection was unfurled, and a great number of the common people flocked to it with such arms as they could procure. But the Duke of Alva sent no assistance from the Netherlands ; and, moreover, ad-

\* Sadler's Letters, vol. ii. p. 55.

A. C. 1569.

vised his master, Philip, to send none. The catholics throughout the other counties of England joined the royal banner, under the Earl of Sussex. The Earl of Derby, a catholic, seized the messenger of the insurgents, and sent the letters he bore to Elizabeth, who, astonished at such unmerited loyalty, thanked God, who had given her such loving and dutiful subjects.\* On the first rumour of the insurrection, Mary was removed to the stronghold of Coventry. A detachment of the insurgents, sent to rescue her on the way, returned without success.

Insurrection  
suppressed.

Earl of Northumberland  
imprisoned.

The Earl of Sussex, Elizabeth's Lieutenant, remained at York, until the Earl of Warwick, with twelve thousand men, was approaching. He then advanced towards the insurgents, who melted away or fled into the Scottish borders. Murray, between threats and bribes, prevailed on Hector Græme of Harlow to give up the Earl of Northumberland, whom he imprisoned in Lochleven. The Countess of that nobleman, with the Earl of Westmoreland, Ratcliffe, Norton, Markenfield, Swinburn, Tempest, and others, were for some time protected by the border clans, who were equally reckless of the threats of the Regent and of the English Queen.† These exiles were soon safely conveyed to the continent; but their poorer adherents were hunted, abandoned to martial law, and great numbers expired on the gibbet. The consciences of the survivors were persecuted by a command to take the oath of the Queen's supremacy.‡

\* Haynes, p. 563-565.

† Cabala, p. 170-171.

‡ Strype, p. 552. Shaw, p. 664.

The new clergy in Scotland were still poor and clamorous ; but the Regent had now less need of their assistance : fair words were all they obtained. Elizabeth, perceiving that Mary was a dangerous prisoner, resolved to give her up to the Regent. A treaty for this purpose was entered into. The Regent was to march an army to the English frontiers, and to receive his sovereign. He was to deliver the young Prince to Elizabeth, and to put her in possession of the principal forts in Scotland ; as also, to assist her with troops, in the event of a war with France. The Bishop of Ross, and the ambassadors of France and Spain, remonstrated in vain : but the career of the Regent was hastening to its termination.

James Hamilton of Bothwelhaugh had been taken prisoner at the battle of Langside : his life had been spared, but his estates were confiscated. His wife, the heiress of Woodhouselie, had retired to her paternal estate, in the hope that her personal property might escape the Regent's rapacity. She was sadly deceived. Murray had bestowed her inheritance on one of his retainers, whose brutality was worthy of the master whom he served. He stripped the lady naked, and, in that condition, in a cold and dark night, turned her out to the fields, where, before morning, she became totally distracted. Hamilton vowed revenge, and Murray made a mockery of his threats : that contempt redoubled his fury. His kinsmen, the Hamiltons, blew up his rage. He watched his opportunity. The Regent had to pass through Linlithgow, on his way from Stirling to Edinburgh. Hamilton took his

A. C. 157

Clamours  
the people

Murray's  
base agree-  
ment with  
Elizabeth.



A. C. 1570.

His death,  
January 23.

stand in a wooden gallery, which had a window towards the principal street ; spread a feather-bed on the floor, to hinder the noise of his feet ; and as Murray rode slowly along, he shot him with a single bullet through the lower part of the abdomen, and killed the horse of a gentleman who rode on his farthest side. Ere the barricaded door of the house whence the shot issued could be forced open, Hamilton had, at a postern door, mounted a swift horse, and scorning his pursuers, rode to the Palace of Hamilton, and thence escaped to France. It is said, that he afterwards sincerely repented of the crime of the assassination. Murray died the same night of his wound.

His character.


His character is sufficiently known to the reader. from what has been related of his life and actions. Whatever abilities he possessed, were prostituted to the vilest purposes. His ambition, which aspired to what he was precluded from by his birth, hurried him on to the commission of the most flagrant crimes. To his Sovereign, who had loaded him with riches and honours, he was in the greatest degree ungrateful, base, treacherous, and cruel. Without a principle or vestige of religion, he assumed a sanctimonious gravity and affected zeal, which deceived the multitude, and drew the flattery and sycophancy of those whose hypocrisy and sinister views very nearly resembled his own. His unmerited elevation inspired him with a pride, vanity, and haughtiness, that disgusted the nobles. By his cringing servility to Elizabeth, he rendered himself contemptible, and disgraced his country. His deceiving and betraying Norfolk, shewed him

destitute of honour. With a cold and callous heart, he conferred favours without generosity, and received them with ingratitude. His enmity was implacable, and his friendship dangerous. His hypocrisy imposed on the common people, who were at that time the miserable dupes of that ignominious vice ; but his death, to the great body of the nobility, was rather a subject of joy than regret. Mary, who had suffered most from his villany, yet, tender and pious, wept over his sudden and violent death, which had overtaken him in his guilty career.

A. C. 1570  


## CHAPTER VI.

Opposite factions—Elizabeth invades Scotland—Lennox Regent—Bill of Excommunication against Elizabeth—Capture of Dumbarton—Archbishop of St. Andrews executed—Ministers refuse to pray for the Queen of Scots—Stirling surprised—Regent killed—Mar Regent—Proposal of marriage with Elizabeth—Conspiracy detected—Execution of the Duke of Norfolk—and of the Earl of Northumberland—Another failure of Elizabeth's marriage—Massacre of Paris—Death and character of Mar—Morton Regent—Heterogenous hierarchy—Death and character of Knox—Castle of Edinburgh besieged and taken—Kirkaldy and his brother executed—Morton's malversations—James assumes the Government—Morton regains power—Morton accused of Darnley's murder—tried—condemned—beheaded—Proposal of uniting Mary and her Son on the Throne—Raid of Ruthven—Elizabeth espouses the protection of the Conspirators—Ineffectual proposal of Mary's liberation—Throgmorton executed—Seditious railing of the Preachers—Gowrie beheaded—Parry's History—Inhumanity against Mary increased—Undutiful behaviour of her son—Banished—Nobles reconciled—New Church wrangling—Conspiracies, detections, executions—Illegal resolution of trying the Scottish Queen—false accusations—Unjust verdict, ratified by Parliament—Foreign powers interpose—James remonstrates—Death-warrant signed—Mary's heroic death—Sketch of her life and character.

A.C. 1570.  MURRAY's death was lamented by Elizabeth, to a degree that little suited her dignity.\* Mary's faithful subjects considered that event as a step towards her liberty and restoration. Her cause gained thereby a temporary ascendancy. Scott of Buccleugh, and Ker of Fernihurst, crossed the borders with their followers, pillaged and burned the neighbouring country. The King's faction wished to elect a new regent. The Queen's party adhered

Opposite factions.

\* Robertson, book vi. p. 317.

to Chatelherault, Huntly, and Argyle, as their Sovereign's Lieutenants. Maitland, set at liberty by Kirkaldy, and having obtained from the nobles an acquittal of the charge laid against him, endeavoured to bring about a coalition of the opposite parties, by proposing a joint reign of the Queen with her son. Elizabeth, as usual, strove to multiply and perpetuate the factions which rent asunder and wasted Scotland. Her agent Randolph, with great industry, promoted her views; while the Earl of Sussex hung with a powerful army on the borders, and inspirited the King's faction, which was devotedly subservient to the will of his mistress. Morton, especially, solicited the interposition of his patroness. Kirkaldy, who was governor of the Castle, and provost of the town of Edinburgh, admitted the Queen's party within the gates of the city, and, along with Maitland, avowedly acceded to the Queen's cause.

A. C. 1570.



Meantime, under pretence of punishing the Scottish borderers for their depredations in England, Elizabeth ordered Lord Scrope to enter Scotland on the western coast, and the Earl of Sussex on the eastern, who by fire and sword laid waste the adjacent country, and destroyed the houses and fortresses of the chiefs. The Queen's adherents retired to Linlithgow, and there, on the 28th of April, by proclamation, asserted the Queen's authority. The opposite faction assembled at Edinburgh, and issued a counter-proclamation. Sir William Drury, by Elizabeth's orders, marched an army into Scotland to join that party; and Morton, with these auxiliaries, devastated the domains of the Hamil-

April 17.  
Elizabeth's  
army waste  
the east and  
west of Scot-  
land.

May 4.

A. C. 1570.

Lennox Re-  
gent.

tons, and of other faithful subjects of the Queen. Under Drury's protection, Lennox returned to Scotland. Elizabeth, importuned by the French ambassador and the Bishop of Ross, recalled her troops : she seemed even to waver between Mary's liberation, and countenancing the choice of a regent in contempt of her authority. But the escape of the English insurgents from Scotland to France, and a bull of excommunication fulminated against her by Pope Pius V., rekindled her resentment. She encouraged Morton and his faction to elect a regent ; and Lennox, on her recommendation, received that honour, in a convention of the party held on the 12th of July.

Elizabeth, during her sister's reign, and even at her own coronation, had professed the Catholic faith. Pope Pius IV. at his accession to the Papal throne, had endeavoured to recall her to the communion of that church. He had invited her, like other Princes, to send an ambassador to the Council of Trent. She refused ; but the prudent Pontiff forbore any proceeding against her. His successor, Pius V. considered her as the inveterate enemy of the Catholic cause, and as the supporter of rebels against their Catholic Sovereigns in the neighbouring kingdoms. He had heard of her severity against the Catholics who had followed their Lords at the insurrection in the north of England, of whom eight hundred were said to have suffered an ignominious death. He represented to the Kings of France and Spain, that honour, interest, and religion called upon them to exert their power and influence to rescue Mary from imprisonment and

death. He complained that Elizabeth had assumed the title of head of the church in her kingdom, and had imposed an oath on her subjects, derogatory to the rights of the holy See. A bull was prepared, which, after long hesitation, he signed on the 25th February 1570. Several copies thereof were sent to the Duke of Alva, in the Netherlands. The Duke forwarded some of these to the Spanish ambassador in England. On the 15th of May, a copy of it was observed placarded on the gates of the Bishop of London. The deed was traced to a gentleman of the name of Felton, who willingly confessed that he had affixed the bull, and suffered with fortitude the death inflicted for his offence. On the scaffold, he remitted to the Queen a diamond ring, drawn from his finger, of the value of four hundred pounds, in token that he bore her no malice.\* However great the provocation given to the Pontiff and to other Catholic Sovereigns, the measure of the bull was highly impolitic, as it only served to heighten the embarrassments of the English Catholics, and the severity of accumulated penal statutes, made and executed on them. Yet notwithstanding the bull and the penal laws, the English Catholics maintained the same loyalty to the Queen as before; nor does the Pontiff seem to have wished or expected any thing else, nor did he ever separate any from Catholic communion, for their adherence to their allegiance.†

Lennox entered upon his regency by exerting all his spleen and all his power against the Queen's

A. C. 1570.

Bull of ex-communication launched against Elizabeth.

Felton executed for placarding it.

August 8.

Lennox's acts of terror.

\* Camden, p. 211-215.

† Lingard, vol. viii. p. 68-66. See also Vol. II. p. 66, of this History.

A. C. 1570.

friends. He prevented the Parliament which they had indicted to be held at Linlithgow. At Brechin, he forced the garrison, which the Earl of Huntly had established there, to surrender ; and as an act of terror, caused thirty-four soldiers to be hanged in his presence. He made himself master of other castles, and proclaimed the Duke of Chatelherault, Maitland, Huntly, and other leaders of the Queen's party, as traitors and enemies of their country. These leaders applied to the King of Spain for assistance, but they only procured from his General, the Duke of Alva, a small supply of money and arms, sent to the Earl of Huntly.

1571

Elizabeth, apprehensive that the King of France, having concluded a peace with his Huguenot subjects, might interpose in favour of the Scottish Queen, affected to treat that Princess with more indulgence ; listened more favourably to the solicitations of foreign ambassadors, and even proposed a negotiation, under colour of restoring Mary to her throne, upon certain conditions. She also strove, in the meantime, to procure a cessation of hostilities between the contending parties for two months from the 3d of September, which Lennox, proud of his present success, reluctantly agreed to, and that truce was lengthened to the 1st of April following. The conditions proposed to the Scottish Queen appeared to her hard and severe. She sent copies of them to the Pope, and to the Kings of France and Spain ; adding, that without timely and powerful aid, she would be obliged to accept of them. Those personages, having all weighty affairs upon their hands, advised her to conclude a treaty on the best

Proposal of  
accommoda-  
tion between  
Mary and  
her subjects.

terms she could procure. Commissioners were appointed by the two Queens : Cecil and Sir Walter Mildmay on the part of Elizabeth ; and for Mary, the Bishops of Ross and Galloway, with the Lord Livingston. Morton, Pitcairn, and James M'Gill, as commissioners from the Regent, came forward reluctantly and slowly. Mary's agents were compliant and condescending. Morton and his colleagues, in justification of their nefarious treatment of the Queen, advanced the detestable maxims of their friend and tutor George Buchanan, concerning the limited powers of princes, and the natural right of subjects to resist, control, and depose them. Elizabeth, who entertained far different notions of royal prerogative, was shocked by the doctrines of that political creed ; but though she could easily have silenced that worse than Machiavelian language, and by a frown of her brow have made them submit to whatever conditions she pleased to dictate, yet being no longer afraid of foreign interposition, she affected to consider their arguments and defective powers as an insuperable hindrance to concluding a treaty, and, under that pretext, broke off the negotiation.\*

A. C. 1571.



The most remarkable achievement of Lennox's regency, was the capture of the Castle of Dumbarton. It was the only place of strength that had been still preserved for Mary ; and it was of great importance to her, as being the most commodious and secure landing-place for any foreign troops that might come to her aid. The strength of the

March 24.

Capture of  
Dumbarton,  
April 2.

\* Anderson, vol. iii. p. 91.



A.C. 1571.

place had rendered Lord Fleming, the governor, remiss in his vigilance. An exasperated soldier, who had served in the fortress, having received some affront, deserted the garrison; and meditating revenge, suggested to the Regent the scheme of its surprisal, and offered his services as guide, and foremost adventurer of the enterprise. The Regent wanted no good will to risk the danger of the undertaking, for the hopes of the prize, and the pleasure of gratifying his resentment against an obnoxious prisoner, namely the Archbishop of St. Andrews. Scaling ladders and other apparatus were provided, and, during the night, Captain Crawford, with a few desperate fellows, and with Robertson their guide, made the daring and hazardous attempt, which, by skill and perseverance, succeeded to their utmost wishes. At early dawn, they reached the summit of the rock. The sentinels were put to death, the cannon and magazines were seized, the astounded garrison made little resistance, and Lord Fleming escaped in a boat. There were only three distinguished prisoners, namely, Verac, a French envoy, whose character protected him; Lady Fleming, who was treated with urbanity; and the Archbishop of St. Andrews, who was immediately conveyed to Stirling, and, without trial, was summarily hanged like a felon.\*

Archbishop  
of St. An-  
drews exe-  
cuted like a  
felon.

\* Buchanan, lib. xx. Crawford's Memoirs, p. 170.

At the Bishop's death, some malicious person affixed to the gibbet the following pasquinade :—

“ Cresce diu felix arbor ! semperque vireto

“ Frondibus, ut nobis talia poma feras.”

Crow, happy tree ! long may thy branches shoot.

And long be laden with such precious fruit !

It was natural that Lennox should desire the punishment of Bothwell, whom he believed to be the chief agent in the murder of his son Darnley. For this purpose, he despatched Thomas Buchanan, the brother of George, to the King of Denmark, requesting that Bothwell should either be surrendered to the envoy, or that he should be punished according to his deserts, in the country where he then was. Buchanan wrote to the Regent an account of his progress in the negotiation; but the letter fell first into the hands of Morton, while he was in England, who scrupled not to examine the contents; and finding the information hostile to his party, suppressed what was not to his liking, sent a garbled copy to Elizabeth,\* and, after considerable delay, remitted the original to the Regent, who, with reason, was disgusted at Morton's disingenuous manner of acting. The King of Denmark returned to Lennox a delicate and honourable answer, offering, upon certain conditions and sureties, to deliver Bothwell for fair trial; but as these conditions suited not the views of Elizabeth, nor Morton's faction, no farther application was made.

A. C. 1571.

Lennox applies to the King of Denmark to give up Bothwell.

Dropt, for certain reasons.

To these lines were added, the succeeding night—

“ Infelix pereas arbor ! sin forte virebis,

“ Imprimis utinam carminis auctor eat.”

Sink, cursed tree ! or, if thou needs must rise,

Exalt the poet betwixt earth and skies.

The author of the first pasquinade, together with his son-in-law, were hanged on the same gibbet, and obtained the following inscription :—

“ Crevit, ut optabas, ramis felicibus arbor,

“ Et fructum nobis te generumque tulit.”

The tree has prospered, as thou didst forbode,

Since, with thy kinsman, thou'rt its happy load.—*Crawford.*

† Goodall, vol. ii. p. 382.

A. C. 1571.

The result is evidently favourable to Mary's innocence.\*

The loss of Dumbarton, and the ignominious execution of the Archbishop, both disconcerted and exasperated the Queen's party. Implacable hostility, and all the horrors of civil war, raged between the contending parties. Kirkaldy, during the truce, had strengthened the garrison of the Castle of Edinburgh, and had full command of the city, where Chatellerault, Huntly, Home, Herries, &c. with a considerable force, were assembled, and had obtained a small sum of money and some ammunition from France. They compelled the clerks and keepers of the register to deliver the books of Council and Parliament, and seized every thing, the want of which might hinder the adverse party to hold their Parliament. They commanded the ministers, in their public prayers, to make mention of the Queen, their Sovereign Princess; but these refused and fled, rather than comply with that order. John Knox skulked at St. Andrews; and Alexander, Bishop of Galloway, in the meantime, filled his pulpit.

Ministers refuse to pray for the Queen.

Argyle (who had kept aloof from the rebel faction, because the Regent Murray had prevented

\* State papers, vol. A. p. 470.

† Spottiswood, p. 242.

Knox called the Queen "an obstinate idolatrice, consentor to her husband's murder, one that has committed whoredom and villanous adultery," &c.: Crawford, p. 129.—(On that occasion, a Mr. Innes affixed on a church door the following epigram:—

"Dum disciplina cessant, regnatque simulitas

"Deficit ecclesiar virtus, pariterque facultas."

While order's banished, lo! a spurious creed,

And powerless, graceless church succeed!

him from being divorced by his countess, who was Murray's sister) having now procured that privilege, married the beautiful daughter of Lord Boyd; and, together with his new father-in-law, went over to the King's faction. "*The zealous preachers,*" says Crawford, "*could wink at adultery for a friend.*"\*

A. C. 1571.

Their favour  
for a friend.

Morton had seized and fortified Leith, where he was joined by the Regent, and a considerable body of troops. Skirmishes daily occurred. The Laird of Holmains supplied the Queen's friends with sixty black cattle, driven off the land of Byres, belonging to Lord Lindsay. The Regent's party, unable to hold their Parliament within the city of Edinburgh, assembled within its liberties, at the head of the Canongate; attainted Maitland and three of the Hamiltons, and prorogued their session to the 28th of August. The Queen's party also held their Parliament, declared the Queen to be their only lawful Sovereign, confirmed the new creed, and appointed their next meeting for the 26th of August.

Adverse Par-  
liaments.

These assemblies were held according to appointment. The Queen's party attainted two hundred of the adverse faction. The Regent's Parliament, at Stirling, was proceeding in the same manner against their opponents, with all security and confidence, when an incident, sudden as a thunder-peal, had nearly laid that faction for ever prostrate in the dust. Huntly, Claud Hamilton, and Scott of Buccleugh, at the head of four hundred horsemen, rode to Stirling in the silence of the night. At four

Stirling sur-  
prised,  
September 3.

\* Crawford, p. 199.

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o'clock in the morning, they entered the town. Not a sentry kept watch: all the inhabitants were drowned in sleep. In a few minutes, the Lords were captured by the assailants, and mounted behind troopers. Morton alone defended himself, but fire set to his house, soon obliged him to surrender. The surprise had been complete, had not the troops quitted their ranks for the sake of plunder. That delay gave time to the Earl of Mar to sally from the Castle with thirty soldiers. His charge was desperate: the inhabitants flew to arms, and joined him. *Remember the Archbishop*, was the word given to the Queen's soldiers. To the memory of that prelate, Lennox paid the forfeit of his life. The other nobles were easily rescued; and had not Buccleugh's borderers carried off all the horses in the town, and so hindered the pursuit, not one of the adventurers could have escaped. It was Kirkaldy who planned the attempt; and nothing but his presence was wanting to have secured its success.\*

Regent killed.

Earl of Mar  
Regent.

The Earl of Mar, on account of his moderation, humanity, and disinterestedness, and in reward for his recent services, was invested with the regency. Elizabeth openly espoused his cause. Mary's party was on the wane. Kirkaldy, with a few brave and resolute compatriots, distinguished themselves about Edinburgh. Sir Adam Gordon, brother to the Earl of Huntly, in two splendid and victorious battles against the Forbeses, maintained the ascendancy of the Queen's cause in the north.

\* Melvil, p. 226. Crawford, p. 204.

About this time, a treaty of marriage was set on foot between Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III. of France. Both courts seemed to wish the match : neither was sincere. The wooer, it seems, supposed his mistress was fond of flattery, and he was by no means sparing of his praise, as he asserted “ that he deemed her “ the most perfect beauty that God had made during the last five hundred years.”\* Elizabeth required, as a condition *sine qua non*, that the Duke must renounce the Catholic, and adopt the reformed worship. The Duke replied, that his conscience was as delicate as that of her Majesty, and if these were the terms, he felt himself bound to refuse, what otherwise it would have been his most ardent wish to obtain. Elizabeth felt and expressed her disappointment, the rather that she probably suspected the Duke had given credit to some scandalous tales regarding her amours.

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Treaty of marriage.

But though the treaty of marriage was unsuccessful, a treaty of alliance, defensive and offensive, was proposed, and, after much negotiation, concluded between France and England. Mary felt the baseness of the French court, in having abandoned her interest : but her spirit was accustomed to soar above misfortune. During the negotiation with Elizabeth for her restoration to her throne, there had been communicated to her the scheme of a conspiracy for her deliverance. Philip, King of Spain, had held a secret correspondence with her through the Bishop of Ross, and had supplied both

Conspiracy.

\* Digges, p. 101.

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her and her adherents in Scotland with small sums of money. To Rudolphi, an Italian merchant or banker, was entrusted the management of this conspiracy. Mary made no reply to the overture, until she saw that the duplicity of Elizabeth had defeated her hopes of releasement by treaty. She then drew up in cypher a detail of her situation, and of the communications which had been made to her.\* This statement she forwarded to the Bishop of Ross, enjoining him to convey it, along with other letters, to the Duke of Norfolk, for his approval or correction. She also desired the Bishop to introduce and recommend Rudolphi to that nobleman : all which was accordingly obeyed. Norfolk caused his secretary, Hickford, to decypher the statement, and then ordered him to destroy it ; which order, from whatsoever motive, the secretary disobeyed, and hid the paper amongst the fulciments of the Duke's bed.

Rudolphi spurred on the Duke to revenge the unmerited injuries which he himself had suffered, and to rescue an unfortunate Queen, who offered him her hand and her crown as the reward of success. “ The spirit of discontent,” he said, “ had  
“ pervaded the nation, and was favourable to the  
“ enterprise: the Catholics were numerous, oppressed,  
“ and angry ; they would rather venture their lives  
“ and fortunes in defence of the rights of conscience,  
“ than give away their substance to the Queen, and  
“ linger out their existence in a jail : their younger  
“ sons were languishing in poverty and inaction.”

\* Haynes, p. 597-598.

He produced a long list of names, with whom, if we believe him, he had practised, and who were ready to follow the Duke as their leader. Rudolphi then suggested two plans: one, that, with the assistance of the friends which he had mentioned, the Queen might be intercepted on her way to the House of Lords: the other, that the Duke should instantly assemble all the force he could muster, and join the Duke of Alva, who would land at Harwich ten thousand veterans. By these means, the Queen might be forced to remove her mischievous ministers, restore the rights of conscience, set at liberty the Scottish Queen, and the Duke might obtain her in marriage.\* The project of seizing the Queen's person, Norfolk rejected as wild and hazardous. To the rest of the scheme, he listened with patience: that he approved thereof, may be questioned, from the suspicion attending depositions extorted by the rack, or by promises of life and liberty. Rudolphi, however, left England, represented himself to the Duke of Alva, the Pope, and the King of Spain, as the envoy of Mary and of Norfolk, and obtained assurances of support.†

The Spanish ambassador, like the English envoys on the continent, blew the coal, and encouraged the projects of the malcontents. It was difficult to hide long a plot in which so many persons were concerned, directly or indirectly.

In April, Bailly, a servant of the Scottish Queen, coming from Brussels, bore letters, which he had been instructed to leave with the Governor of Ca-

\* Camben, p. 432. Lesly's Neg. p. 150, &c.

† Mindin, p. 164. Anderson, vol. iii. p. 149-187.



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Detected.

lais, but which, from thoughtlessness or vanity, he brought along with him to Dover, where, being searched, some letters addressed in cypher created suspicion. But the Bishop of Ross had the address to exchange those letters for others of no importance, ere they reached the council. Bailly, however, was sent to the Tower, and, on the rack, disclosed that he had received the letters from Rudolphi, and that they were intended to give information that the Duke of Alva approved of the proposed invasion of England.\*

In August, the Duke had employed Hickford to transmit to Lord Herries some money, to be distributed among Mary's friends in Scotland. One Brown was entrusted to convey it to Bannister, the Duke's steward. Brown, from the weight, supposing it gold instead of silver, as had been alleged, carried it directly to the council. In the bag were found letters, which discovered its destination. The Duke, Hickford, Barker, Bannister, and the Bishop of Ross, were instantly apprehended. Never did servants betray an indulgent master with greater baseness. Hickford readily answered the questions put to him, and pointed out the place where he had concealed the papers which his master had ordered him to burn. Barker and Bannister, from the sight or feeling of the rack, were equally communicative. The Duke, who had relied on the fidelity of his servants, and believed all dangerous papers had been destroyed, was astonished at the depositions, and the production of the papers. What bore hardest

Norfolk examined.

\* Camden, p. 234.

against him was the mission of Rudolphi to the King of Spain, to the Duke of Alva, and to the Roman Pontiff. Yet he still maintained that the whole conversation between him and Rudolphi regarded pecuniary transactions only, and the policy of procuring aid from Flanders for the Scottish partisans of the Scottish Queen, against their opponents.\*

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The Bishop of Ross, from the discoveries obtained, was considered as the principal contriver of the conspiracy; and, in his examinations, was treated with great rigour. The Earl of Bedford, president of the committee of the council, insulted him with the vilest reproaches, and the most vilifying epithets. He called him a flagitious practiser for a pretended Queen, and a treacherous Scot. "The proofs of his guilt," he said, "being conclusive, he might expect the punishment which his crimes had deserved." Though Lesly's situation was critical, he defended himself with ability and spirit. He bade the councillors remember that he was entitled to the privileges that belonged to the ambassador of an independent Prince. He produced the commission he had received from Mary, and reminded them that he was even under the protection of their mistress, and shewed the safe-conduct which had been presented to him in her name. "Elizabeth," he said, "might take away his life, but she would thereby give a wound to the majesty of nations." Her council ought to advise her not to shew him greater severity than her own ambassadors had met with. He set before them the ex-

Bishop of Ross;

his defence

\* Mindin, p. 1-164. Anderson, vol. iij. p. 140-187.

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amples of Throgmorton in France, of Randolph and Tamsworth in Scotland, who had fomented rebellions, and had received no other punishment than an order to leave the courts which they had offended. Burleigh proceeded to examine him concerning his connection with the Duke of Norfolk. He answered, that the customs and treaties of the two kingdoms did not admit of the testimony of a Scotchman against an Englishman, and *vice versa*. He was told the rack would soon render him more pliant. In the meantime, he was remanded to a dark apartment of the Tower. After passing some days in that gloomy dungeon, he was brought into the Lieutenant's lodging, and informed by four councillors, that the Queen, being anxious to sift the matter to the bottom, gave him this option: either to make a candid declaration, which should neither be employed against himself nor against any other person; or, if he refused that satisfaction to the Queen, he would be considered as a private person, and so be tried and executed as a traitor. He then accepted of the first proposal of the alternative, and disclosed minutely the transactions of the principal persons concerned in the conspiracy: but in unfolding the offences of his mistress, of the Duke, and of himself, he failed not to make their apologies in a manner that amounted almost to their justification. It was natural, he said, for the Queen of Scots to exert the most strenuous endeavours in her power to recover her freedom and her crown. The methods she adopted to acquire her rights ought to be put in parallel with the arts of Elizabeth, in pertinaciously refusing ac-

cess to her presence, unjustly and inhumanly keeping her prisoner, and affording open and powerful assistance to her enemies. The Duke of Norfolk, considering the advances made towards his marriage with the Scottish Queen, and their mutually plighted love, could not in honour or conscience forsake her. He himself, the Queen's ambassador and servant, and deeply indebted to her generosity and kindness, could not abandon her in captivity and distress, without incurring the guilt of the most sinful treachery and ingratitude.\*

A. C. 15

The Bishop of Ross was set at liberty, but on condition that he should leave the kingdom ; and Mary was deprived of the eminent services of the ablest and most faithful of her adherents. The Spanish ambassador, protected by the power of the prince whom he represented, from such insults as Ross had suffered, was, however, commanded to leave England.†

1572.

The Duke of Norfolk's persevering attachment to the Queen of Scots, had kindled the indignation of Elizabeth to the highest pitch. Her obsequious councillors sought his death, as a warning to others; the popular fury was blown up against him by incendiary publications, and by invectives from the pulpits. While a phalanx of sophistical crown-lawyers was drawn up against him, he was refused the aid of counsel. The evidence against him was chiefly confessions extorted by the rack, or by the hopes of life. Though he bravely and forcibly repelled the charges brought against him, he was

\* Cambden, p. 435. Lesly's Negot. p. 167-200. Mindin, p. 20, &c. Stuart, vol. ii. p. 54-55.

† Digges, p. 163.

A. C. 1572.

Execution of  
the Duke of  
Norfolk,  
June 2.

Hatred a-  
gainst Mary.

Her apology.

found guilty, by the verdict of twenty-six cringing peers. A fanatical parliament petitioned for his death. His death-warrant, different times signed and revoked by Elizabeth, was at last put in execution. He asserted to the last his innocence of treason, and his adhesion to the reformed faith.\*

The death of the Queen of Scots was still more eagerly sought. The slanderous publication of Buchanan, and printed copies of the letters forged against her, were disseminated, especially among the members of Parliament. To these were added, the opinions of civilians and divines. A bill was introduced into Parliament, to render Mary incapable of the succession. Elizabeth interdicted all reference to the inheritance of the crown, and prorogued the parliament.†

Mary, by commissioners, apologised for her conduct to Elizabeth. In consenting to marry the Duke of Norfolk, she had no hostile intentions towards her sister. Her correspondence with Rudolphi only regarded pecuniary matters : from foreign princes she solicited nothing but aid to her faithful subjects in Scotland.

Mary's sorrow and loss, by the death of the Duke of Norfolk and the Archbishop of St. Andrews, was greatly aggravated by that of the Earl of Northumberland, her valorous and devoted partisan. Morton, by his characteristical treachery, basely sold the nobleman who had befriended him by many favours while he was an exile and outlaw in England. The noble earl, after an imprisonment of

\* Strype, App. 27, apud Lingard. Camden, p. 233.

† Part. Journal. Digges, p. 219.

two years and a half in the fortalice of Lochleven, was put on board a vessel, to proceed, as he was told, to Flanders. To his astonishment, he soon found himself in Berwick, whence he was conducted to York, and, in virtue of an act of attainder, beheaded without trial. On the scaffold, he declared he had satisfactorily answered every charge laid against him, in a letter addressed to the council. He refused the assistance of a Protestant clergyman, and died in the profession of the Catholic faith.\*

A. C. 157

Execution  
the Duke  
Northum-  
berland,  
August 22

A new proposal of marriage was made to Elizabeth by the Duke of Alençon, a younger brother of her former suitor, the Duke of Anjou. The Queen did not seem to boggle at or object, as some others did, the disparity of age; for her new suitor was one and twenty years younger than herself. But the barbarous and cruel massacre of the Huguenots in Paris, and in several other towns in France, broke off, for a time, all thoughts of an union so tender between the parties, and an alliance so close between the two countries. Whether that shocking and detestable butchery was the effect of a sudden burst of impetuous vengeance, or of a more deliberate and preconcerted purpose of bloody carnage, historians are divided, as well as with regard to the number of victims that fell in the diabolical execution. Religious animosity, inspired by hell, and fanned by ambitious princes, had blown up the evil passions of both parties to the highest degree of bitter hatred and malevolence. The most bar-

Proposal of  
marriage.Massacre  
Paris,  
August 24

\* Mindin, p. 186-193. Cambden, p. 269.

A. C. 1572.

barous outrages, murders, and massacres, had been reciprocally perpetrated and retaliated; and the massacre in question seems to have been the mischievous and lamentable consequence of preceding enormities. To attribute any of those brutal and demoniacal excesses to the ancient or to the new doctrines, were equally absurd and unjust, since all the calm and reasonable disciples of either creed heartily disavow and loudly condemn them: yet our Scottish historians would fain insinuate, that such barbarous deeds are in accordance with Catholic principles; and they cunningly attribute the melting away of Mary's party to the apprehension of her Protestant adherents, that her religion patronized the most hideous atrocities. "They dreaded," says a celebrated author, "her attachment to a religion which *allowed* its votaries to violate the most solemn engagements, and *prompted* them to perpetrate the most barbarous crimes."<sup>•</sup>

Mary's party certainly dwindled; but still she herself was formidable to Elizabeth. Desirous of her death, yet unwilling to incur the odium of dipping her hands in the blood of a Queen, a near relation, and a presumptive heir, Elizabeth wished to deliver her to her rebellious subjects, that, by a mock trial, she might be liable to certain condemnation, and speedy execution. For this nefarious purpose, Killigrew was despatched to Scotland, under colour of promoting an agreement between the Regent and Mary's adherents in the Castle of Edinburgh: but in reality to probe the dispositions of

Elizabeth wishes to give up Mary to her enemies.

<sup>•</sup> Robertson's History of Scotland, vol. ii p. 353.

the Regent, and of the Earl of Morton; to practise upon their hopes and fears, and to lead them insensibly to a wish for what was the object of his mission, which, without exposing his mistress, he might suggest as a spurt of his own fancy. The scheme, if well received and entertained, might lead to a treaty, by which proper hostages should be given, as securities that Mary should not escape, or give farther trouble. No transaction could be more base, treacherous, or criminal, than this insidious artifice of Elizabeth: but although Morton, sold to evil and to Elizabeth, might easily have been inclined to adopt the vile measure, yet the Earl of Mar had more virtue and honour than to be subservient to so ignominious a machination.


That nobleman was by much the best character of all those that had been opposed to Mary, or that shifted sides. He even looked back to his conduct against the Queen with anxiety and compunction. He wished to join himself with Kirkaldy and Maitland, to throw his weight into the scale of his injured Sovereign, and to negotiate a general peace among his countrymen. He had been under the hard necessity of sharing the odium of hated measures, which he could not prevent. He was continually controlled by the intrigues, avarice, and inhumanity of Morton, the instigations of Elizabeth, and the wily craft of her agent Randolph. His unavailing love for his country, and his acute sensibility, sank him into a deep melancholy, followed by his death, which was sincerely lamented. He was the only one of the four regents who enjoyed the regency without envy, and left it with unimpaired reputation.

A. C. 15

Death and  
character of  
the Earl of  
Mar.



A. C. 1572.

  
Morton Regent, November 24.

Morton, supported by Elizabeth, had now no formidable competitor of his own faction for the regency; and though the nobles were jealous of him, and the people dreaded his despotism, he easily obtained that formidable office.

On the death of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, Morton obtained a grant of the temporalities of that See; but as it would have looked awkward to pocket the benefice without fulfilling the office, and as he had neither time nor inclination for episcopal functions himself, he bargained with Mr. John Douglas, rector of the University of St. Andrews, for a small pension, to assume the title of Archbishop, and allow him to possess the residue of the revenues. Douglas promised to resign his rectorship at his instalment in his new dignity; but he refused to execute his engagement. His mental abilities, which were never eminent, were on the wane from age; but he still retained the sense to cling to what brought some gain, and a shadow of glory.

This manœuvre of Morton was an excellent precedent, and highly agreeable to the nobles, who hoped to imitate it; but it was considered by the more zealous of the saints as a profanation of the kirk, and a high contempt of God. A commission of privy councillors, and of clergymen of the day, was appointed to regulate this reform of reformed ecclesiastical polity. Morton, the chief of the convention, managed the business with great dexterity. The clergy were unwilling to thwart the nobles, who were the pillars of their new church. Some expectants were flattered with the hope of a high title, or by the delusive prospect of wealth.

It was resolved that, till the majority of the King, or till the wisdom of the three Estates should be consulted, the titles of Archbishop and Bishop should be continued as in former times, with this difference, that their spiritual jurisdiction should be subordinate to the General Assembly.

A. C. 15

The adopted scheme was immediately followed up. The archbishopric of Glasgow, and the bishoprics of Dunkeld and Dunblane, were filled with complaisant and *moderate-minded* ecclesiastics, who, upon being allowed a small pittance, gratified their noble friends and patrons with the principal share of the revenues. Thus was introduced, upon the platform of Geneva, a mongrel and incongruous hierarchy, without ordination, jurisdiction, or legal mission. In an assembly held at Perth, in the month of August, a report and examination was made of the new polity : The titles of Archbishop, Bishop, Dean, Archdeacon, Chancellor, and Chapter, were disapproved of, as savouring of popery ; and it was recommended that names should be contrived, less offensive to pious and orthodox ears.\*

Incongruous hierarchy.

Mr. Knox, from ill health, was not one of the commissioners, nor present in the assembly at Perth : that apostle of the Scotch reformation died on the 27th of November ; perhaps soon enough for himself, but certainly twenty years too late for the good of his country. It cannot be expected that I should give him a high character. *The white-washing of the Moor* belongs to the biographer of Knox. I shall simply copy a few traits

Death and character of John Knox

\* Spottiswood, lib. v. p. 260

A. C. 1572.

from a protestant historian. “ In literature his  
 “ proficiency was slender, and to philosophy he  
 “ was altogether a stranger: charity, moderation,  
 “ the love of peace, patience and humanity, were  
 “ not in the number of his virtues. Though he  
 “ had risen to eminence by exclaiming against the  
 “ persecution by priests, he was himself a perse-  
 “ cutor. He was strenuous to break that chain  
 “ of cordiality which ought to bind together the  
 “ prince and the people. He inveighed against  
 “ the Queen’s government, and insulted her person  
 “ with virulence and indecency. It flattered his  
 “ pride to violate the duties of a subject, and to  
 “ scatter sedition. The pride of success, the spirit  
 “ of adulation, the awe with which he struck the  
 “ gaping and ignorant multitude, inspired him  
 “ with a superlative conceit of his own merits.  
 “ He mistook for a prophetic impulse the illusions  
 “ of a heated fancy.”\* The same historian indeed  
 adds, that “ *his confidence of a happy immortality*  
 “ *was secure, and disdained the slightest measure*  
 “ *of suspicion or doubt.*” To me, strong senti-  
 ments of penitence and humble fear would have ap-  
 peared better symptoms, than a conceited security  
 bordering on presumption. His brother preacher,  
 John Kelloc, minister of Spot, near Dunbar, who  
 in September 1570 had strangled his own wife on  
 a Sunday morning, and preached two thundering  
 sermons on the same day, died with fully as much  
 pretended assurance of salvation as was entertain-  
 ed by Mr. Knox.†

\* Stuart, vol. ii. p. 74-75.

† Crawford.

A. C. 1572.

Another celebrated historian varnishes the blemishes of the reforming hero, by saying, that *“those very qualities which now render his character less amiable, fitted him to be the instrument of Providence for advancing reformation among a fierce people.”\** That sentiment appears to me, not only wild and false, but in some degree blasphemous. What example can be cited, that the Almighty, in promulgating a religion revealed by himself, or in correcting any abuses of religion, has ever employed a person of such a depraved character as above depicted? Knox certainly greatly contributed to the dethronement of his lawful Sovereign, and to the maintaining the cause of her rebellious subjects. He aided in exciting and protracting a civil war, and in drenching his native soil with the blood of its inhabitants; in fomenting a spirit of enmity and malice among the lieges, which existed and embroiled Scotland for more than a century. He sowed the seeds of religious dissension, and of jarring sects, which disfigure religion, and disturb the harmony of families and of society. He assisted in degrading his country, by subjecting it to the caprice of an insidious neighbouring princess. By overturning the ancient hierarchy, he threw the lawful property of the church into the hands of unprincipled noblemen, who wasted in feuds, in luxury and debauchery, what had been the never-failing aid of government, the means of rearing and maintaining charitable institutions and nurseries of learning.

\* Robertson, vol. ii. p. 360-361.

A. C. 1572.



By destroying religious houses, he despoiled the kingdom of its beauty and grandeur, and drove the poor from their shelter and means of subsistence.

Can I believe, or can you, my readers, believe, that the man, who had studied catholic theology, and with full conviction of its truth (for otherwise he was a sacrilegious hypocrite); had received ordination, by the imposition of hands of the ancient hierarchy; had solemnly dedicated himself to promote the glory of God, and the salvation of souls, in a state of chaste celibacy, and in the faithful discharge of the painful and laborious duties annexed to his order; could afterwards, without the influence of some strong, impetuous, and disorderly passion or passions, have deserted that faith, despised that valid ordination, and embraced, as the voice of heaven, a call from the mouth of John Rough,\* a wild and ignorant fanatic; and in virtue of an election by a den of murderers and libertines, addicted to robberies, adulteries, and rapes, who then garrisoned, as rebels, the Castle of St. Andrews; could he, I say, without being goaded by some wild passion, or by a disordered brain, have deemed himself authorised, by sedition, rebellion, and declamatory calumny, to excite the unlearned and unwary peasantry to overturn the religion of their forefathers, and of the great body of Christians, ancient and modern; and to inculcate, with scurrilous vehemence, that the worship held by that body, as the most sacred homage paid to the Deity, was *damnable idolatry*, sufficient to draw

\* Knox, b. i. p. 84, 94.

down the vengeance of God upon the countries where it was practised? No; let us not imagine, my countrymen, that the Almighty would have employed a blustering fanatic and seditious incendiary, the disgrace and outcast of our nation, as the instrument of purifying religion!

The two contending parties in the south of Scotland carried on a desultory warfare, with implacable rage and ferocity. They mutually hanged the prisoners whom they had taken, without distinction of rank or quality. The unhappy victims were led by fifties to execution.\* Sir Adam Gordon, by his humanity, no less than by his valour, had nearly subdued the north to the obedience of the Queen. A truce, agreed on for two months, and protracted to January following, suspended the atrocities in the south, but was highly detrimental to the progress of the gallant Sir Adam Gordon.

Elizabeth seemed desirous to extinguish the flame which she had enkindled and blown up in Scotland; but her motive was a selfish dread that Mary's adherents might be powerfully assisted by the King of France and the Duke of Alva.† Morton also sought an agreement with the opposite party, though with far less generous views than his predecessor. He endeavoured to weaken the Queen's power by disuniting the leaders of her party, and for that purpose resolved to negotiate with them separately.

Maitland, sensible that he could procure no of-

A. C. 18

Fury of the  
opposite fac-  
tions.

\* Crawford, p. 218-220.

† Digges, p. 299.

A. C. 1572.



Morton's  
scheme of  
accommoda-  
tion.

rice nor employment without the favour and concurrence of the Regent, addressed a letter to him, hinting at the services he had rendered Morton after the assassination of Riccio, and proposing a reconciliation with him. But Morton, dreading Maitland's intriguing genius and variable humour, kept aloof, alleging that he had amply repaid the good offices rendered him. Maitland complained to a friend, of Morton's ingratitude: that friend having expostulated with Morton, the latter defended himself; and both the complaint and the apology contain strong hints and recriminations against each other, of a concern in the murder of Darnley.\* But while Morton rejected the application of Maitland, he was eager to gain Kirkaldy, and by that means to get possession of the Castle of Edinburgh. He allured Melvil, by the promise of the Priory of Pittenweem, to be the bearer of an overture to Grange, which consisted of an offer of his friendship, some rich ecclesiastic temporality, and the keeping of the fortress of Blackness; as also, that his friends in the Castle should be restored to their lands and possessions, on condition of their coming over to the King's party. Kirkaldy, having consulted with his friends, instructed Melvil to reply to the Regent, that he sought no selfish remuneration of temporality or fortress; but, for the good of the country, he, together with Lord Hume and Maitland, were willing to listen to terms of agreement, and that he would exert all his influence with the chiefs of the Queen's friends

\* Goodall, vol. i. p. 329-300.

to concur in the same measure. But a general coalition was not the Regent's plan ; wherefore, leaving Kirkaldy for a time, he turned towards Chatelherault and Huntly ; and with the assistance of Kiligrew, Queen Elizabeth's envoy, he soon brought them to listen to and relish his overtures. With these the cessation of arms continued ; but the truce being expired, Kirkaldy, after warning the Queen's friends to leave the town, played his artillery against it with great fury and effect.\*

A. C. 157

Kirkaldy  
fires on the  
city of Edin-  
burgh.1573,  
January 2

The Regent assembled at Edinburgh a Parliament of his own faction, and enacted laws to his and their liking. The King's cause and the Protestant interest were united by an indissoluble bond : these were sure to be supported by the new clergy, and the nobles who had acquired the preponderance of ecclesiastical property. The Queen's cause was joined with the ancient faith, to inspire execration and odium against both. Catholics were incapacitated from enjoying any office, pursuing any action, giving testimony in any suit, and sitting upon any assize. The ancient clergy must subscribe the new confession of faith, or be deprived of their livings, and punished as rebels. All the proceedings of the King's faction were decreed lawful ; all those of the Queen's party unjust, illegal, and invalid.†

Penal laws  
against Ca-  
tholics.

A treaty was concluded at Perth, between the Regent on the one part, and Chatelherault and Huntly on the other. The articles nearly resembled the acts of the preceding Parliament. Kirk-

Morton  
agrees with  
Chatelhe-  
rault and  
Huntly,  
February

\* Crawford, p. 244. Melvil, p. 241. Mindin, p. 230.

† Black Acts, vol. iii. fol. 6-11.



A. C. 1573.

aldy, though abandoned by his associates, who had made no provision for his safety, still hoped for the promised succours from France and Flanders. His brother, Sir James Kirkaldy, had returned from France with a year's annuity of Queen Mary, to assist her loyal subjects. He placed the money in the Castle of Blackness; but the governor of that place delivered it to Morton, in order to make his peace with him; and Sir James was put in irons, but the garrison relieved him: and making him their governor, gave his irons to be worn by the brother and substitute of their former commander. Morton, however, had debauched Sir James's wife, and made use of her to ruin her husband. She visited her husband, and decoyed him out of the fort to protect her from danger; an ambush lay in wait, which took him prisoner. He escaped from his prison in Linlithgow, and got safe into the Castle of Edinburgh, to his brother. His treacherous wife was soon after strangled in bed, nobody knows by whom.\* Killigrew haughtily offered Kirkaldy the common terms of the meanest soldier who had served on the Queen's side. The Regent soon refused all stipulations with him. Sir William Drury, at the command of Elizabeth, marched from Berwick with fifteen hundred foot, and a formidable train of artillery. The Regent joined him with all his force: the castle was invested, and the siege pushed on with great vigour. Kirkaldy displayed prodigies of valour; and though daily breaches were made in the wall by a heavy and well-directed artillery, the hero resisted for

Kirkaldy excluded.

Morton and Drury besiege and take the Castle of Edinburgh.

\* Crawford.

thirty-three days all the efforts of the joint armies, wishing rather to be buried in the ruins of his shattered fortress, than yield to an insidious and distrusted foe. But his garrison rising in mutiny, forced him to surrender to Sir William Drury, who promised him, in the name of his mistress, his life and estate, together with the favourable treatment of his surviving friends and soldiers : but Elizabeth, reckless of Drury's honour, or his promise in her name, gave them up to the merciless Regent. Kirkaldy and his brother were hanged at the cross of Edinburgh. Maitland of Lethington was poisoned in the prison-house of Leith, either by the order of Morton, or by his own voluntary act, to elude the malice of his enemies. Maitland was an able statesman and eminent scholar, but one whom no ties of honour or friendship could bind to loyalty or patriotism. Kirkaldy was a skilful and valiant captain, but of an immoral, temporizing, and capricious character. He is said to have assisted in the murder of Cardinal Beaton. He rebelled against the Queen for her marriage with Darnley. He rebelled against his sovereign, and decoyed her into the hands of her enemies at Carberry-hill. He forsook Murray, who had entrusted him with the keeping of the Castle. His mortal enmity with Morton kept him finally in the Queen's interest. Being pursued by the Cardinal's heirs for *assythement* or *intromissions*, he got an act of Murray's parliament passed in his favour, viz. *that all was done for the good of the country*. His seeming zeal for the reformation often excused him with that party.\*

A. C. 157

Kirkaldy and his brother basely put to death.

\* Crawford.

A. C. 1573.

Elizabeth  
and Morton  
triumph in  
Scotland.

Elizabeth's  
strange jea-  
lousy.

By the reduction of Edinburgh Castle, Elizabeth and Morton ruled in Scotland : Mary's better cause sunk there to rise no more : her friends grieved in silence ; her misfortunes and solitary confinement impaired her health. At the earnest suit of the French ambassador, Lord Shrewsbury, with some reluctance on the part of Elizabeth, was allowed to conduct Mary to Buxton Wells. Lord Burleigh, her inveterate enemy, happened at the same time to have recourse to those salutary springs ; and such was Elizabeth's jealousy of Mary, and distrust of every person who approached her, that Leicester could maliciously insinuate, and Elizabeth suspect, that Burleigh had contracted a dangerous partiality to her rival ; and so strong was her alarm, that it had nearly overset her belief in her minister's fidelity.

1574.

Severe suffer-  
ings of Mary.

Mary's interest was now almost totally neglected. The death of Charles IX., which happened this year, added to her misfortunes. His successor, Henry III., from jealousy of the House of Guise, and attachment to the Queen-Mother, was less interested in Mary's affairs. The other Catholic princes were either supine, or had little leisure or power to support her cause. The horrors of her imprisonment were protracted, and became still more rigorous. The number of her attendants was diminished, and the allowance of her table reduced. It became difficult, and often impossible, for her friends to have access to her person. Her correspondence was frequently intercepted by the spies and agents of the English ministers. Anxiety preyed on her mind, and the want of fresh air and

exercise impaired her health. Yet, while Elizabeth sternly refused to mitigate the sufferings of her prisoner, the fears, jealousies, and apprehensions arising from her captive, proved an inexhaustible source of uneasiness and torment to herself.\*

A. C. 1574.

Meantime, the Regent's administration became insolent, oppressive, and odious to all states, ranks, and degrees : he debased the coin, sold licences for carrying on illicit branches of commerce, and imposed unusual and oppressive taxes. The Queen's jewels, which had been pawned to relieve her necessities, or of which she had been robbed by her rebellious nobles, were all claimed by him, and when they could not be produced, equivalents were demanded. Petty offences were aggravated ; delinquents were forced to purchase their lives by the payment of exorbitant fines ; the terrors of the law were employed to extort the wealth of the people. He cozened the new clergy to resign to him the thirds of benefices, from which they had been but irregularly paid, under pretence of redressing that grievance ; but they soon found that their stipends became more pitiful, irregular, and dilatory than before.† When the ministers and their new bishops went together by the ears, he connived at and delighted in their quarrels, because their disputes diverted them from disturbing his encroachments on their salaries.


Morton's extortions.

Another singular shift of the Regent to extort money (zealous reformer as he was, and professed enemy of the Catholic church), was to punish those

Inconsistent punishment, and avarice of Morton.

\* Haynes, p. 511.

† Crawford, p. 272. Spottiswood, p. 273.

**A. C. 1574.**  who ate flesh meats in Lent, by whipping or public penance in churches, such as the preachers had illegally imposed upon Mary's adherents: but these punishments of the Regent were only awarded, because he knew they would be readily redeemed by a fine of ready money. It was also commanded, that all payments should be made to him in pure gold or silver, and he disdainfully refused the base money which he himself had coined. Nor were the Regent's malversations confined to the lower or middle ranks: he began to make the nobles feel the weight of his power. A quarrel broke out between the Earls of Athole and Argyle, which they were ready to decide in the field. Morton intended to involve both in a charge of treason, that he might seize their estates. The earls having learned his purpose, joined in close confederacy, and set him at defiance.

**1575.**

Harasses  
the Hamil-  
tons.

After the death of the Duke of Chatelherault, which happened in the beginning of this year, the Regent took a particular satisfaction in trampling upon the name and families of Hamilton. He threw into prison all those who had fought for the Queen at the battle of Langside, and caused them to buy their liberty at an exorbitant price.

**1578.**

James re-  
quested to  
take the reins  
of govern-  
ment.

On account of this mal-administration, all began to turn their eyes towards the young King, who had now reached his twelfth year, expecting from him the redress of their grievances. Athole and Argyle instilled into the young Prince a distrust of the Regent, and a willingness to mount the throne. A convention of the nobility was called to Stirling, and the King, at the request of the

nobles, accepted the reins of government, on the 12th of March. Morton received, with apparent cheerfulness, an order to resign his authority. The joy of the nation was genuine and extreme, but not so secure as was imagined; for though all, even Morton's most intimate friends, deserted him in his fallen fortune, he, however, not only obtained in the meantime an approbation of all his transactions in the exercise of his office, and an ample pardon of all past offences, but also, in less than three months, by intriguing with the young Earl of Mar, and the Countess his mother, that young nobleman first got possession of Stirling Castle and the King's person; and then Morton, having gained Tullibardine, Mar's uncle, was admitted into the castle, where, by his dexterity, he was soon master both of the fort and the monarch.\*

A. C. 1578.

May 24.

He next obtained a seat, and the complete ascendancy in the privy council,† and full possession of the power which he had recently lost. The time for holding the Parliament approached, and Morton, afraid of conducting the young King to Edinburgh, and still more afraid of leaving him at Stirling, in spite of remonstrances and protests, proclaimed, in the King's name, that the Parliament should meet at Stirling, where in fact it was held. The King's acceptance of the government was confirmed, a council appointed to assist him, and Morton's act of indemnity and pardon ratified. Athole and Argyle, by secret orders from James, raised and marched towards Stirling an army of ten thou-

Morton regains power.

\* Calderwood, vol. ii. p. 535.

† Ibid. p. 536.

A. C. 1578.

sand men. Angus, Morton's nephew, met them, with a force inferior in numbers, but superior in discipline. The opponents were reconciled by the mediation of Bowes, Elizabeth's envoy. Athole and Argyle were admitted into the King's presence. Morton invited the leaders of the opposite party to a splendid entertainment. A few days after the repast, Athole, who had been the chief author of Morton's late disgrace, died, as was supposed, of poison. Morton had now recovered his authority, and he employed both his cunning and his power against the house of Hamilton. The Earl of Arran, still insane, was confined a close prisoner; Lord John, who was in possession of the estate, and Claud, commendator of Paisley, had been suspected of being accessory to the murders of Murray and Lennox. A former act of attainder, in which they were included, was deemed sufficient conviction; and a body of troops marched against them in hostile array. They saved themselves by a speedy flight into England; but their lands were confiscated, and the castles of Hamilton and Draf-fan seized.\*

Athole poisoned.

1579.

Morton had, with great skill and address, weathered one storm; but he saw not another, more terrible, which was brewing, and soon descended upon him with a fatal vehemence. James was warm-hearted, and easily impressed with an attachment to persons whose qualities and manners were engaging, or who had the art of insinuating themselves into his good graces. Two young men,

\* Crawford, p. 311. Spottiswood, p. 306.

though of very opposite characters, particularly engrossed his affection. The first and chiefest favourite was Esmé Stewart, the brother's son of the Earl of Lennox, and who, for the signal military services of his ancestors to the crown of France, inherited the title of Lord of Aubigné. He had just arrived from France, with a view to claim the estate and title of Lennox, to which he pretended a legal right. He was received by James with the respect due to a near relation. His youth, the elegance of his person, and his high accomplishments, soon riveted the affection of the young King. He was first created Lord Aberbrothick, and the titles of Earl and Duke of Lennox soon followed.

A. C. 1579


 James's favourites.

September 8.

The other minion, who grew into great confidence, was Captain James Stewart, the second son of Lord Ochiltree, bold, enterprising, and little restrained by virtue or decorum in the attainment of what ambition or pleasure prompted him to desire. These, though of dissimilar dispositions, and both emulous of favour, seemed neither envious nor jealous of each other; but both conspired to undermine the credit of Morton, which they had the pleasure to see becoming daily more tottering, both in the mind of the King and of the people. A Parliament was held at Edinburgh. James entered the capital with great pomp, and was welcomed with every demonstration of joy, amidst which the favourites neglected not their insinuations against Morton. The ex-Regent began to perceive his danger, and, to lessen the popularity of Lennox, represented him as an implacable enemy of the reformed religion, which, as an emissary of the house

October 17.



A. C. 1579.



of Guise, he had been sent to overturn ; as also, to engage James to marry some foreign princess, and to resign the Scottish sceptre into the hands of his mother. The clergy, full of apprehensions, sounded their complaints from the pulpit. The people, imitating the tone of their teachers, exclaimed against Lennox as a papist ; but Lennox, probably in complaisance to his master, deafened these clamours, by declaring himself a member of the fashionable religion, and signing the national confession of faith.\* Morton applied to Elizabeth, his faithful patroness. Bowes, her envoy, accused Lennox of practices dangerous to the peace of the two kingdoms, and insisted on his removal from the council. His demand was deemed an affront to the King, and an insult to the independence of Scotland. His powers were questioned, and he was refused farther audience.

Bowes, Elizabeth's agent, dismissed.

1581.

Robert Stuart, the modern Bishop of Caithness, had obtained the earldom of Lennox. He had resigned that honour to Lord Aubigné, and reserved as compensation the earldom of March and the priory of St. Andrews.†

Bowes retired from the Scottish court in disgust, and, according to the Scottish phrase, *took a moon-light flitting*.


In the act of indemnity which Morton had obtained, the murder of Darnley could not with propriety be mentioned in an act of grace by his son. In respect to that crime, Morton was still liable to accusation, and the penalties of the law. Captain

\* Crawford, p. 319. Spotswood, p. 208.

† Mindia, p. 342.

Stewart seized this opening. Entering the council-room, in the royal presence, before the assembled nobles, he threw himself on his knees, and accused Morton of being accessory, and *art and part* in the murder of the King's father. Morton answered with a smile of scorn, that his zeal in punishing all suspected of that horrid crime might well save himself from any suspicion of being concerned in it. Stewart asked how he could reconcile that assertion, with his loading with honours Archibald Douglas, whom he knew to be one of the regicides? Farther altercation had followed, but the King commanded both to be removed. Morton was confined first in Edinburgh Castle, and afterwards in Dumbarton, which forts were kept by Alexander Erskine and Lennox, his declared enemies. Archibald Douglas being warned of his danger, fled precipitately into England.

A. C. 1581.



Morton accused of the King's murder.

Elizabeth, zealous to preserve the life of a person who had so well seconded her detestable policy, and maintained her influence over Scotland, ordered an army to hover on the borders, and despatched her wily and intriguing envoy, Randolph, to the Scottish court. Randolph, with all his eloquence, recapitulated to the King and council, and to a convention of the Estates, all the pretended benefits heaped upon the Scottish kingdom by his mistress; notwithstanding which, she had of late perceived ingratitude, coldness, mistrust, and alienation, in the Scottish council, which she could only attribute to Lennox, a retainer of the House of Guise, a person bred up in the errors of popery, and still suspected of leaning to that proscribed religion; and

A. C. 1581.



she conjured the nobles, if they had any zeal for religion, any regard for their own order, if they tendered the friendship of England, to discard so dangerous a person from their council, and from the ear of their young King. Elizabeth also persuaded the Prince of Orange to send an agent to Scotland for a similar purpose : but James's councillors, for once, despised the insidious interference of the English Queen, and reprobated her attempts to excite subjects to rebel against acknowledged authority. Randolph imitated the flight of his predecessor.\*

Morton tried,

James determined to support his dignity and independence, and his councillors were bent on the destruction of Morton. Captain Stewart was first appointed guardian of the Earl of Arran, and soon after obtained the estate and title of his incapacitated ward. Morton was conducted, by the newly-created peer, from Dunbarton to Edinburgh, and might thereby anticipate his approaching fate. The proofs led against Morton were : 1°. That he had held a consultation at Whittingham concerning the murder of Darnley ; 2°. That his cousin and confidential friend Archibald Douglas, and his servant Binning, were agents in the actual perpetration of the deed ; 3°. His subscription of the bond to save Bothwell from the punishment of the murder, and recommending him as a fit husband for the Queen ; 4°. A paper purporting to be the declaration of Bothwell on his deathbed. He was found guilty, by the unanimous verdict of his peers, of conceal-

\* Crawford, p. 326.

ing and of being *art and part* in the conspiracy against the King's life. He was sentenced to the death of a traitor. The first part of the verdict, he, at his death, admitted, but pleaded excuse that he dared not reveal the conspiracy. The second part, viz. *art and part*, he twice emphatically repeated, adding, *God knows it is not so*. The more cruel and ignominious part of the sentence was remitted, and he was, the following day, simply beheaded. The proceedings against him were doubtless violent, though his crimes deserved the death he suffered. His head was placed on the public jail of Edinburgh. His body, after lying till sunset on the scaffold, covered with a mean cloak, was carried by common porters to the burying-place of criminals.\*

A. C. 1581.

condemned,

and beheaded.

Arran, by a disgraceful violation of the laws of hospitality, carried on a criminal intrigue with the Countess of March, in her husband's house, where he had been entertained; and after the lady, by an indelicate pleading, had been separated from her right reverend and right honourable husband, Bishop of Caithness and Earl of March, the paramours were pompously united, to the great scandal of the nation.†

Arran's ill conduct.

The preachers carried on their hostility against their nominal bishops, and at length passed an act, suspending them from all clerical functions until the General Assembly should otherwise ordain. The Court did not acquiesce in that decree. Lennox made a lucrative bargain with Montgomery,

\* Crawford, p. 334. Rob. vol. ii. p. 403. † Spot. p. 315.

A. C. 1581.

The Court  
and the  
preachers at  
variance.

minister of Stirling, and got him promoted to the vacant See of Glasgow. The thunders of the General Assembly were just going to be launched against Montgomery, when a herald, in the King's name, arrested for a short space the explosion; but neither the authority of the King, nor the tears of the prelate, could avert the storm. The sentence of excommunication was fulminated and rebellowed in all the churches of the kingdom. The pulpits also rang with invectives against the public administration. James issued a proclamation, suspending the minister Dury, and commanding him to be expelled from Edinburgh. Dury disregarded the royal mandate; but the magistrates put it in execution. Dury, at the cross of Edinburgh, protested against the violence offered him. The rabble accompanied him to the gates of the city with wailings and tears, and his brethren denounced the vengeance of heaven against the authors of the expulsion.\*

The death of Morton had diffused a ray of consolation on the English Catholics, groaning under the unrelenting severity of penal statutes. The known hostility of that nobleman had hindered them from making any application to James, whom they naturally considered as the successor to the English throne. They now thought of soliciting Lennox, to assure James of their attachment to the house of Stuart, and begging his protection in favour of any of their number whom persecution might drive into Scotland as an asylum; and to

English Catholics sue  
for James's  
protection.

\* Calderwood, Assembly of 1576-1582. Spottiswood, p. 237.

express a hope, that when the English sceptre should be placed in his hands, he would extend religious toleration to his own and his mother's friends.

A. C. 188

With these views, Waytes, an English clergyman, and Creighton, a Scottish jesuit, were despatched to Holyroodhouse, where they were kindly received by the King, the Duke of Lennox, the Earls of Huntly, Elphingston, and Caithness, and by the Barons Ogilvie, Grey, and Ferniherst. The deputies returned to England, with flattering promises of the royal favour. James was to connive at the quiet introduction of Catholic missionaries. He was to receive one at his court, under the title of his tutor in the Italian language. He had promised to screen such religious refugees as were recommended to him by his mother. He expressed a filial compassion for the sufferings of that princess, and a willingness to lend his aid for her deliverance from captivity ; but regretted that his poverty, unless relieved by Catholic Sovereigns, would oblige him to submit to the will of Elizabeth.

Thus encouraged, Persons, an English jesuit, and the said Creighton, of the same order, hastened to Paris, where they conferred with the Duke of Guise ; Castelli, the papal nuncio ; Tassis, the Spanish ambassador ; Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, Mary's ambassador at the French court ; Mathieu, provincial of the French jesuits ; and Dr. Allen, the president of the English seminary at Rheims. The result of that consultation was, that Mary and James ought to be associated as joint King and Queen of Scotland ; that an agreement,

Scheme for  
uniting M.  
with her co-  
on the throne

A. C. 1582.

upon certain stipulated articles, should be signed by both; and that the Pope and the King of Spain should be solicited to grant pecuniary assistance to the young King. These, and whatever other resolutions were adopted at the conference, obtained the assent of the Scottish cabinet. Persons immediately set out for Spain, and Creighton for Rome. The former obtained from Philip at Valladolid a present of twelve thousand crowns for James; and the latter received from the Pontiff a promise of four thousand crowns, to defray the expenses of the young Monarch's guard for a twelve-month. Mary readily agreed to the plan of association, and, to conciliate the assent of her son, assured him that she meant to give him a legal title to what he now held by force, and to raise him in the estimation of other sovereigns from an usurper to a legitimate king. James, upon being persuaded that his mother would leave him the entire management of the realm, yielded to the proposal. Lennox cordially approved of the measure; Arran also did so ostensibly, but secretly obstructed the coalition to the utmost of his power.

But all these hasty excursions and consultations were observed by the vigilance, and thwarted by the policy of the English cabinet. Elizabeth, since the death of the Earl of Morton, felt herself deprived of her wonted influence over the affairs of Scotland. It became necessary to form, and to support a faction to effect a removal of councillors that were leading the King into measures so repugnant to her wishes. A combination of jealous and disappointed nobles readily seconded her views by open treason and rebellion.

James, returning from Athole, where he had been enjoying his favourite amusement of hunting, was invited to Ruthven Castle by its Lord, who had lately been created Earl of Gowrie. He accepted of the invitation, in hopes to prolong his sport, but was somewhat disconcerted on perceiving a great multitude of strangers, and new arrivals from different quarters. The Earls of Mar and Glencairn, the Lords Lindsay and Boyd, the Tutor of Glamis, the eldest son of Lord Oliphant, and others, had entered into a conspiracy with Gowrie to seize the person of the King, and to assume the exercise of the royal authority. Next morning, James was impatient to begone, but was rudely arrested by the Tutor of Glamis. The young King, bursting into tears, complained and threatened. Glamis sternly replied, “ *Better children weep than bearded men ;*” words never forgotten by James. Arran was imprisoned in the castle of Stirling. The King issued an order for the departure of his favourite, the Duke of Lennox, with no less reluctance than the Duke obeyed it. After lingering for some time about Edinburgh, in hopes of the King’s regaining his liberty, Lennox at length sought an asylum in his native country, where he soon after died, either of a broken heart, or of poison administered to him in his passage through England.\*

The news of this new revolution was for some time concealed from Mary. When it reached her

A. C. 1582.

Raid of  
Ruthven,  
August 23.

\* The Assembly of the Church declared the conspirators had done acceptable service to God. A packed convention granted them indemnity for what they had done; Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 177, &c. ; Spottis. p. 322.



A. C. 1682.



Mary's letter  
to Elizabeth,  
November 8.

ears, the burst of maternal tenderness agitated her decaying frame. She augured the future fate of her son from her own sad experience; and from her prison, and the bed of her sickness, she wrote a letter to Elizabeth, which bore the stamp of the superior mind and glowing eloquence of the Queen of Scots. She requested Elizabeth to turn her mind for a moment to a future tribunal, and to a Supreme Judge, before whom they were both to be arraigned, and where the wrongs she herself had suffered would be weighed and redressed. She well knew that her own real and only crime was, that she was the nearest relation and the next heir to the Queen of England; but that grievance might now be forgotten, since she was brought to the brink of the grave, and aspired only to a better kingdom. She had, however, to recommend to her good sister the protection of her son, and to sue for her own liberation from prison, or, if she must remain captive, that she might be allowed the benefit of a catholic clergyman to prepare her for death, and two additional female servants to attend her during her illness. But Elizabeth was not of a mould to be softened by such moving expostulations.\*

1583.

Ambassador  
from France,  
with one  
from Eng-  
land, Janu-  
ary 13.

Henry III. of France, though hitherto languid in Mary's cause, from political motives now strove to extricate James from the power of a faction devoted to the English interest. He therefore despatched M. de la Motte Fenelon to Edinburgh, to aid the young Prince in regaining his liberty, and

\* Camden, p. 387.

to advise him to call in the other noblemen and Mary's best friends, and to effect, if possible, the association of the mother and son upon the Scottish throne. In passing through England, Elizabeth appointed Davidson, her envoy, to accompany Fenelon, under colour of co-operating with him in the negotiation, but in reality to be a spy upon his proceedings, and to frustrate his success.\* The preachers were alarmed at this embassy from France, and declaimed, with their accustomed virulence, against the court of France, the house of Guise, and the ambassador. They loudly protested against any alliance *with notorious persecutors of the church of God*, and such as sought to restore an *idolatrous worship*, and to replace an *adulteress* and *assassin* on the throne.†

James acted with a dissimulation and vigour above his years. Having gained Colonel William Stewart, the commander of the band of gentlemen who guarded his person, under pretence of paying a visit to his grand-uncle the Earl of March, he was permitted to go from Falkland to St. Andrews. To avoid suspicion, he lodged first in a defenceless house in the town; but pretending a curiosity to see the castle, as soon as he entered it, with a few trusty attendants, Colonel Stewart commanded the gates to be shut, and to exclude the rest of the train. Next morning, the Earls of Argyle and Huntly, Crawford, Montrose, and Rothes, with other friends, entered the town with their retainers. Several of the leaders of the treasonable faction ap-

A.C. 184

James recovers his liberty, June 27.

\* Robertson, vol. ii. p. 417.

† Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 207.

A. C. 1583.

peared in arms, but found themselves too weak to recover possession of the King's person, which they had detained for upwards of ten months.

The King, in the first transports of his joy for his deliverance, promised to pass an act of oblivion for the late violence offered to him, and for all past irregularities committed during his minority; but Arran regained his ascendancy over him, and resumed the full exercise of his power. A proclamation was issued, that all those concerned in the *Raid of Ruthren* should, in humble sort, acknowledge their crime; and the King promised them a full pardon, provided their future conduct did not oblige him to remember their past misdemeanours. He admonished his subjects in general to imitate his clemency, and that their private happiness and the public tranquillity would be most effectually promoted by their renunciation of malice, factions, and animosities.\*

The conspirators refuse their pardon clogged with a condition.

But the conspirators, trusting to the interference of Elizabeth, rejected a promise clogged with such a condition, and affected to suspect the sincerity of James, while he was under the direction of a minister who was destitute of probity. Many of the leaders retired from Court, and apprehending a gathering storm, began to take measures for their safety.

Elizabeth writes to James.

Elizabeth, who had all along protected the conspirators, wrote to James a harsh and haughty letter, reproaching him with breach of faith by re-admitting Arran to his confidence; and with im-

\* Spottiswood, p. 326.

prudence, by treating so rigorously his most deserving subjects.

A. C. 15

James replied, with dignity and spirit, that promises extorted by violence were not binding, and that he had a right to choose the ministers whom he pleased to employ in his service; that he had always meant to treat the conspirators with lenity, but that such an insult on his person, as had been committed at Ruthven, ought not to pass altogether uncensured; and he requested her Majesty not to countenance his subjects in their rebellion.\*

His answer

Elizabeth's letter was soon followed by Walsingham, her secretary, who, notwithstanding his advanced age and declining health, made his appearance at the Scottish court. He was admitted to several private conferences with James. He renewed the topics of Elizabeth's letter, and James repeated his answers. It is probable that the Queen had employed this sagacious minister to sound the capacity and dispositions of the young King. James, being awakened to a quick sense of his rank and his rights, displayed such information and abilities as prepossessed Walsingham in his favour. The hoary statesman lectured James on the art of government, and exhorted him to banish the enemies of religion from his councils and from his society: but the chief business of this ambassador seems to have been, to study the number and strength of the two parties, to sow dissension and discord among the members of the one party, and to unite those of the other; and to secure

Walsingham  
in Scotland  
September

\* Robertson, vol. ii. p. 421. Melvil. p. 279.

A. C. 1582.

their favour for England, by present distribution of money, and by promises of future pensions. Walsingham and Arran treated each other with scorn ; and Arran contrived that the ambassador, at his departure, instead of a diamond valued at seven hundred crowns, intended for him by the King, should be presented with a ring embossed only with a stone of crystal.\*

This posture of affairs revived the hopes of the captive Queen, and of her friends in France. The Duke of Guise, Castelli, the Archbishop of Glasgow, Mathieu, and Morgan, a Welshman, an agent of Mary, and procurator of her dowry in France, held another meeting at Paris, in order to devise a plan for Mary's liberation. It was proposed that the Duke should land with an army in the south of England ; that James, with a Scottish force, should enter the northern counties, and that the English friends of the House of Stuart should be summoned to the aid of the injured Queen. The project was communicated to Mary through the French ambassador, and to James through Holt, an English jesuit confined in the Castle of Edinburgh. The King assented, but his mother, aware that her keepers had orders to put her to death, if any attempt were made to carry her away by force, sought rather to obtain her liberty by concession and negotiation. She acquainted Elizabeth with her intention of transferring all her rights to her son : she repeated her former offers, and proposed a league of perpetual amity between the two kingdoms, to

Plan for  
Mary's libe-  
ration ;

\* Cambden, p. 492. Melvil, p. 296.

be concluded in Scotland through the mediation of Castlenau, the French ambassador. Elizabeth appeared to acquiesce ; her ministers submitted to the pleasure of their sovereign. Henry authorised his ambassador to undertake the commission, furnishing him with the instructions Mary had solicited : yet he privately admonished him to obstruct any treaty which, by freeing Elizabeth from all apprehension on the part of Scotland, might enable her to support the Protestants in France.\* Castlenau, in compliance with his master's crooked policy, relaxed his exertions : the rebellious faction in Scotland remonstrated to Elizabeth : reports were circulated of the projected invasion. The English Queen changed her resolution, and Mary's gleam of hope, as usual, sank in darkness and disappointment.

A. C. 1583:



frustrated.

Elizabeth was disquieted by the obscurity of the Duke of Guise's designs, and still more justly dreaded the disaffection of her Catholic subjects, groaning under the weight of cruel penal statutes, which were enforced with unexampled severity. The scaffolds streamed with the blood of priests executed as traitors : the prisons were crowded with recusants, and the most ancient and noble families were harassed and screwed with oppressive fines and forfeitures.

Elizabeth's disquietude, arising from her persecution.

In the event of an invasion, could she expect that such sufferers would not imitate the Huguenots in France, the Belgians, the Presbyterians in Scotland ? The ingenuity and industry of Walsingham

\* Jebb, vol. ii. p. 545.

A. C. 1583.



seemed her only protection : that statesman, nurtured in intrigue, strove to unravel the intrigues of others, by dispersing his agents at home and abroad, in the bosom of private families, in the councils of princes, and even in the English Catholic seminaries, under the disguise of students. It became difficult for the most loyal or the most cautious to elude the snares laid for their destruction.\*

1584.

A letter written by Morgan, fell into the hands of the secretary. Francis and George, sons of Sir John Throgmorton (who had incurred the hostility of Leicester), were apprehended and sent to the Tower. Some of their friends fled for fear of Leicester ; others were examined before the Council, and silenced their adversaries. The two brothers perseveringly asserted their innocence. Stafford, the English ambassador in France, could discover no trace of the invasion ; but an intercepted letter from the Scottish Court to the royal captive, aroused the apprehensions of Elizabeth. That letter contained information that James approved of the plan of the Duke of Guise, and that he was resolved to expose his own person in the attempt ; that he had received twenty thousand crowns to raise an army, and was desirous of knowing on what English noblemen he might rely for assistance. It was probably owing to this letter, that Francis Throgmorton was brought to trial. Having thrice suffered the rack, without making any disclosure, he trembled on being led a fourth time to that horrid

Letters in-  
tercepted.

\* Camden, p. 411, apud Lingard.

engine, and, in all likelihood to avoid the torture, he confessed that two catalogues, which were said to have been found in a trunk of his, had been written by him; that one contained the names of the chief ports; the other, the names of the principal Catholics in England: that these were intended for the use of Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, to further the enterprise of the Duke of Guise. Upon this confession, Burleigh accused the ambassador of practising against the State. Mendoza repelled the charge, and retorted upon Burleigh his having intercepted the treasure, and aided the rebels of his Sovereign. The angry ministers separated, and Mendoza retired to Paris, where he indulged his resentment, by lending his aid to the enemies of Elizabeth. Throgmorton, upon being indicted on an ancient statute of treason, contrary to his expectations, exclaimed that he had been deceived; that the whole of his confession was false, and had only been emitted to escape the torment of the rack. After his condemnation, he once more confessed; but on the scaffold, he revoked his confession, calling God to witness, that as it had been at first extorted by the fear of torture, so in the second instance it had proceeded from the hopes of pardon.\*

A. C. 1584.

Throgmorton executed,  
June 10.

The English cabinet, which, from very exceptionable proofs, had inflicted the punishment of treason for a doubtful conspiracy in England, cherished, fomented, and supported with all its might and ingenuity, a real conspiracy in Scotland. In-

\* Lingard, vol. viii. p. 204-210.



A.C. 1584.

Seditious  
railing of the  
preachers.

stigated by Walsingham's intrigues, encouraged by Elizabeth's protection, and supported by her gold, the conspirators refused to accept of pardon upon the terms which had been offered them.\* They were required by proclamation to surrender themselves prisoners. The Earl of Angus complied: Gowrie submitted to the King, and accepted of the pardon: the rest fled into England. The tongues of the preachers were let loose. These, while the conspirators were in power, extended their privileges, and launched their anathemas against the episcopal order; but now that the King had recovered his liberty, and Arran his wonted power, they dreaded the destruction of the Genevan discipline, and the ruin of the whole Protestant cause. Dury, who had been restored to office, openly applauded the *Raid of Ruthren* in the pulpit. The King, resolute on repressing such insolence, commanded Dury to resign his charge in the city. Andrew Melvil, being summoned before the council for seditious doctrine advanced publicly at St. Andrews, protested against the jurisdiction of a civil court for what was announced from the pulpit; but, to avoid the King's rage, he retired to England.† Yet the clamours of the pulpit still rang, and the voice of the conspirators from their hiding-place instigated their adherents to arm in their defence. Gowrie repented of his submission, and was ordered to leave Scotland, and to sojourn in France. Being informed that Angus, Mar, and the Tutor of Glamis, had formed a project of sur-

\* Sadler, vol. i. p. 375.

† State Papers. Calderwood, p. 145.

prising the Castle of Stirling, Gowrie lingered at Dundee, intending to join his confederates. Colonel William Stewart, after a stubborn resistance, took him prisoner. The rest of the faction, being disappointed of a timely supply of money from Elizabeth, and their friends repairing but slowly to the standard they had erected at Stirling, fled precipitately at the approach of the royal army, consisting of twenty thousand men, and with difficulty escaped to England. Gowrie underwent a trial, such as the times afforded. A jury of his peers found him guilty of treason, and he was publicly decapitated at Stirling. Elizabeth withdrew the force by which she had intended to aid her friends. Walsingham secretly supported the refugees, Elizabeth interceding for them; but a Parliament, at the devotion of the King and his minister, pronounced them rebels. Their estates and property escheated to the crown, but the greater part flowed to Arran and his friends.

A. C. 1584.

Gowrie be-  
headed,  
April 18.

May 23.

Conspirators  
declared  
rebels.

The new-modelled church polity and discipline, reared upon the ruins of the ancient fabric, by the hot head and boisterous lungs of Knox, was woefully overturned by a Protestant King. No assemblies, civil or ecclesiastical, were to be held without the King's permission; and the boasted privilege of uttering from the pulpit invectives and scandalous reports against the King, his ancestors, or his ministers, was enrolled among capital crimes.\* All ministers, readers, and professors in colleges, were commanded to subscribe, within forty

New church  
polity crip-  
pled.

\* Statutes James VI. Parliament 1584.

A. C. 1584.



days, an approbation of the laws regarding the church enacted in the late Parliament. Many complied: the stipends of the outstanders were withheld. The favourite theme of seditious brawlings being forbidden, the preachers sank in estimation with the people. Their sermons lost their zest, and became pithless and contemptible. Many of the preachers, hitherto kept in poverty by the nobles, and now shorn of power by the King, forsook their charges, and fled to England.\*

Fortune again treacherously smiled on Mary's cause. Elizabeth's faction in Scotland was nearly annihilated; and that Princess, dreading that the young King had become favourable to his mother, began once more to wish for an agreement, on the terms that the Scottish Queen had offered. Walsingham assented: James appointed Lord Gray, the Master of Mar, one of his favourites, to repair to the English court, to meet Naué, Mary's French secretary, and her agent in this business. By the mediation of the French ambassador, it was hoped a treaty might be concluded: but on a sudden, fortune again frowned, and marred Mary's prospects. Creighton, the Scottish jesuit, and Abdy, a Scottish priest, sailing from Flanders towards Scotland, were captured by a Dutch cruizer or privateer: and, though Scotland was in no hostility with the neighbouring powers, they were delivered to the English as prisoners. When assailed by the cruizer, Creighton had torn some papers, and thrown them overboard; but these happening to be dri-

Proposed  
agreement  
with Mary  
frustrated.

\* Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 527; apud Robertson, vol. iii. p. 6.

ven back by a reflux wave, were collected and delivered to the clerk of the privy council. Creighton and Abdy were conducted to the Tower. Being threatened with the rack, Creighton disclosed all the particulars of the projected invasion, which had long alarmed Elizabeth, and which hitherto she had not been able to unravel.\*

A. C. 1584.

Mary's enemies laid hold of the occasion to shew their zeal for the English Queen, and formed an association, the subscribers of which bound themselves by a solemn oath, to pursue unto death, not only those who should attempt the life of the Queen, but also any person in whose favour such attempt should be made. The latter clause was considered by Mary, not only as designed to exclude her from the right of succession, but as an anticipated death-warrant. To shew, however, how little she deserved so malicious an inuendo, she offered to subscribe the bond, in as far as regarded her own act or assent. Her subscription was not wanted; but copies of the bond were extensively circulated, and subscribed by all who had any thing to hope or to fear from Elizabeth.†

Association  
against Mary,  
October 31.

Elizabeth could not be contented without possessing a considerable sway over Scotland. Amongst many schemes which she revolved in her mind to regain her influence over the Scottish councils, she, for the present, adopted an attempt to gain Arran, the King's favourite minister; and for that purpose she despatched to Scotland her secretary, Davidson. Arran, conscious that he held his present

\* Sadler, vol. ii. p. 401.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 430. Cambden, p. 418.

A. C. 1584.

Arran gained  
by Elizabeth.

power by a precarious tenure, namely, the favour of a young prince; and being ambitious of obtaining the strong support of Elizabeth's protection, he listened with pleasure to the overture made by her agent. In an interview with Lord Hunsdon, governor of Berwick, he promised an inviolable attachment to the English interest, and to the utmost of his power to persuade his master to maintain peace between the two kingdoms, and to make no engagement of importance without the advice and consent of the English Queen.\*

James's political manœuvres.

James, whether from nature, education, or circumstances, had become an adept in the art of dissimulation, the basest characteristic of a prince. He had carried on a correspondence with the royal captive, with the Duke of Guise, with the King of Spain, and with the Roman Pontiff, professing respect for their religion, deference for their persons, chivalry for the liberation of his mother, and desire of being associated with her on the throne. By these professions, he obtained, for some time, what he chiefly aimed at, considerable pecuniary assistance; but when his sincerity became doubtful, the bounties dried up, and James was resolved to try whether his attention and assiduity might not be employed to better account with his cousin of England. Gray, his new ambassador to that court, was instructed to use all his address to withdraw Elizabeth's protection from the exiled nobles, and to procure from her treasury some assistance for his master. Gray professed the catholic creed,

\* Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 491. Melvil, p. 318.

and the utmost zeal for the captive Queen. He had been sent to Paris, with a recommendation to her friends, and had been admitted to the confidence of the Duke of Guise, of Persons the jesuit, and of the Archbishop of Glasgow, from whom he had learned the schemes and plans for the liberation of Mary. On account of his supposed principles, he met with a cold reception from the English cabinet, but his insinuating address and general conduct soon dispelled the prejudices entertained against him. He attended the established worship ; he kept at a distance from, and even quarrelled with, Naué. Elizabeth soon discovered Gray to be a fit person for carrying on her designs, and endeavoured, by flattery and presents, to secure him to her interest. His vanity and ambition led him to comply with her views. He betrayed the secrets which had been entrusted to his presumed fidelity. Having gained the royal favour, he suggested such plans as he thought might please the royal ear, and solicited for his master an annual pension, with a declaration that James was the second person in the kingdom. Elizabeth knew well what to grant, and what to refuse ; but Gray obtained a present supply of money, with a promise of more, in proportion to James's future services.\*

A bill was brought into the English Parliament, in perfect concordance with the bond of association. It proposed that, in case of invasion, or of any attempt to hurt the royal person, the individual by

A. C. 158

December

1585.  
Associat  
confirmed

\* See Mindin, &c. apud Lingard, vol. viii. p. 216.

A. C. 1585.

whom, or for whom, the attempt might be made, should forfeit all right to the succession, and should be pursued to death by all the Queen's subjects. But Elizabeth, notwithstanding her hatred of Mary, felt the injustice of the measure, and Mary and her issue were only rendered incapable of succeeding in case of the Queen's suffering a violent death. The words of the bond of association were also limited to the same sense.

Arran's misdeeds.

Gray's credit at the English court was highly disagreeable to the banished nobles; and the overbearing pride, rapaciousness, and cruelty of Arran, was oppressive to many, and hateful to almost all the people of Scotland. Persons even of rank were imprisoned for not gratifying his avarice or caprice: nay, even condemned as traitors, upon the most frivolous pretences.

Penal statutes against Catholics.

Meantime, though the English Catholics were already cruelly persecuted, and the scaffolds stained with their blood, their condition was rendered still more deplorable by a statute, which enacted, that if any clergyman born in the Queen's dominions, and ordained by authority of the Bishop of Rome, were found within the realm after the expiration of forty days, he should be adjudged guilty of high treason, and that all persons aiding or receiving him should be liable to the penalties of felony.

Parry's opposition.

Dr. Parry, a Welshman, a civilian, and a member of the House of Commons, on the third reading of the bill remonstrated against it, as a measure savouring of treasons, full of blood, danger, and despair to English subjects; pregnant with fines and forfeitures, which would go, not to enrich the

Queen, but private individuals. Parry was by the House given to the custody of the serjeant. He next day obtained his liberty at the command of the Queen, who stated that he had explained his motives partly to her satisfaction : yet, within six weeks, he was sent to the Tower on a charge of high treason.

Parry was a Protestant, who had been sent to the continent by Burleigh, as a spy, to collect and transmit secret intelligence to that minister. He returned to England, married a rich widow, spent her fortune, attempted to murder his principal creditor, was saved from death by means of his patron, resumed his former employment on the continent, complained of the small allowances of his employer, who retorted the trivialness of his discoveries. Parry hoped, by changing sides, he might better his condition. He pretended a conversion to the Catholic faith ; applied to Creighton at Lyons, and was reconciled. He signified an ardent wish to free the English Catholics from their severe persecution ; would not hesitate, for that purpose, to kill the Queen with his own hand, if he could persuade himself that it was lawful before God. Creighton assured him that it was not. Parry, at Venice, applied to Palma, another jesuit, to whom he again proposed his case of conscience, and received the same answer. He returned to Paris, proposed the assassination to Morgan,\* by whom he pretended it was approved of. He wrote

A. C. 158

Parry's history.

\* Mary Stuart declared, that she did not believe Parry's accusation of Morgan. She thought him incapable of such a crime ; Jebb, vol. ii. p. 675.



A. C. 1585.



to Cardinal Como, the Roman Secretary of State, and received a promise that an answer should be forwarded to him in England. He then returned to England, made to Elizabeth, Burleigh, and Walsingham, a pompous but confused narrative of his services ; maintained that he had been solicited by the Pope to murder the Queen. Cardinal Como's answer arrived, and was shewn to the English cabinet ; but neither in Parry's letter, nor in the Cardinal's answer, is the least mention made of the Queen's murder. Parry's letter is preserved by Bartoli, page 288, and merely says, that he was about to return to England, and hoped to atone for his past misdeeds by his subsequent services to the Catholic church. The answer of the Cardinal may be seen in Sadler, (ii. 500.) It was only a civil reply to a general offer of service, without the remotest allusion to the assassination in question.\* A proof of this is, that when Parry demanded a pension from the Queen, he was told *he had done nothing to deserve it*. Amongst the foreign spies in the English pay was Edmond Nevil, of the family of the Earl of Westmoreland. His post was to watch the motions of Persons, an enterprising jesuit. Parry contracted a close intimacy with Nevil, his brother in trade ; they communicated

His intrigue  
with Nevil.

† The story of the Pope's exhortation of the murder, and his previous absolution, is a downright falsehood. The indulgence mentioned in Cardinal Como's letter was merely such as is generally given to converts upon their reconciliation, that is, a remission of canonical censures incurred by former offences. Almost all Protestant writers mistake the nature of indulgencies ; See Appendix, Vol. II. of this History. Our Scottish historians have been egregiously misinformed about Parry's conspiracy. See an authentic and full account of it in Dr. Lingard's History, vol. viii. p. 220, &c. with the most satisfactory vouchers.

their projects to each other, and swore mutual secrecy and fidelity. It was *diamond cut diamond*; a trial of skill between two experienced impostors, which should be able to entangle the other in the toils. Nevil took the start, and succeeded; he denounced Parry. They were confronted; and the Welsh doctor, after a faint denial, acknowledged that he had solicited Nevil to assassinate the Queen. In the Tower, he made a long confession; and, in hopes of pardon, pleaded guilty. When sentence was about to be pronounced, he exclaimed that he was innocent, that his confession was a tissue of falsehoods, extorted from him by threats and promises. On the scaffold, he renewed the protestations of his innocence, and declared that Cardinal Como's letter had given no approbation of the murder. Parry's design of the murder is doubtful; but he richly merited his punishment by his other crimes.

The ill-founded pretence, that the Pontiff had approved of the proposal of assassinating the Queen, sharpened the severe execution of the penal laws against the Catholics. These drew up a long and eloquent petition to the Queen, protesting their loyalty, disclaiming the base principles of which they were accused, and praying for lenity and abatement of persecution for quietly following the dictates of their conscience. The effects of this humble and reasonable petition were the imprisonment for life of the gentleman who had ventured to present it;\* the cruel imprisonment and falsely imputed crimes of Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, and

A. C. 154

His execution, February 25

Severity against Catholics.

\* Strype, vol. iii. p. 298.

A. C. 1585.



Rigour a-  
gainst Mary  
increased.

eldest son of the late Duke of Norfolk ; and the tragic death of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland.\*

Mary passed the winter in the most painful disquietude. She revolved in her mind the bond of association, and the ratification of that bond by act of Parliament. She was removed from Sheffield to the ruinous castle of Tuthbury, where she saw a young man, supposed to be a priest, after much shameful treatment, hanged before the window of her chamber, and she viewed that execution as the prelude of her own. The care of her person was transferred from the Earl of Shrewsbury, who had treated her with that respect that became her dignity and his own honour, to Sir Amyas Paulet, a creature of Leicester, who behaved to her with rudeness and petulance. All these incidents served to agitate her mind with cruel emotion ; but all these insults of her enemies did not so much disturb and embitter her feelings, as did the ingratitude of her son.

James had hitherto treated his mother with a decent respect, and had entered into negotiations with her, not very pleasant to Elizabeth ; but Mary

\* Mindin, p. 463.

Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, having shewn an attachment to the ancient faith, was surrounded with spies, upon a suspicion of his having assented to the conspiracy for which Throgmorton suffered ; he was sent to the Tower, where he remained a year without trial. On the 20th of June 1585, his keeper was removed, and one Bailiff, a servant of Sir Christopher Hatton, was substituted in his place ; the same night the Earl was found dead, having been shot through the heart with three slugs. A coroner's inquest falsely returned a verdict of *felo de se*. His enemies pretended that he had committed suicide, to avoid the ignominy of a public execution ; yet it appears far more probable, that being unable to prove the charge of treason against him, they had hired Bailiff to assassinate him ; Mindin, p. 511.

having learned the treachery of Gray, complained to her son of the disingenuous conduct of his favourite. James, who was pleased with the success of Gray's embassy, and being instigated by that minion, returned a cold, harsh, and undutiful answer to his mother, intimating that she had no concern with his affairs or authority in Scotland. This discourteous and unnatural abandonment from a son, on whom she had doated with the fondest maternal affection, plunged Mary into the deepest sorrow, and disclosed to her fully her hopeless situation. Overwhelmed with anguish and disappointment, she threatened, if he persisted in his disobedience, to disown a son who had so ill requited her tenderness and love, and to transfer every right that he could claim through her, to a prince who would be willing, and might be able to assert them.\*

As in England the great objection to the regal succession of the Queen of Scots was her religion ; so in France, at this time, great opposition was made against Henry de Bourbon's being declared presumptive heir of the crown, because he was a Protestant ; and a league was formed, under the direction of the young Duke of Guise, to declare the Cardinal de Bourbon, Henry's uncle, the first Prince of the Blood, and heir-presumptive to the throne. Amongst others, the King of Spain joined this combination.†

Elizabeth, perceiving the politics of Europe considerably changed, resolved also to adopt new plans.

A. C. 15

Undutiful  
behaviour  
her son.

March 2

Elizabeth  
policy.

\* Jebb. vol. ii. p. 373.

† Dr. Lingard, vol. viii. p. 240.

A. C. 1585.



She undertook the protection of the Dutch in quality of an ally ; she furnished the Huguenots in France with a considerable sum of money ; she endeavoured to establish a confederacy of the Protestant princes to support the reformed faith against the efforts of the Catholic powers. It became especially important to secure the friendship of Scotland ; to form the closest alliance with the nobles, who were enemies to the Scottish Queen, and by their means to extend Elizabeth's influence over the councils of that nation.\*

Wotton at  
the Scottish  
Court,  
May 20.

Arran had offered his services for that effect ; but as his sincerity was doubted, Sir Edward Wotton was despatched as ambassador to watch the motions of Arran, and, if possible, to undermine his influence with the young king. Wotton's intrigues were greatly aided, in the first place, by the promise of an annual pension of five thousand pounds, from Elizabeth to James as a pledge of her motherly affection towards him. Wotton's purpose was, in the next place, greatly facilitated by an accidental affray on the borders, which the English council pretended was the result of a plot formed by Arran, and executed by Ker of Fernihurst, to enkindle hostilities between the two kingdoms, and therefore Elizabeth insisted on the surrender of the authors of the outrage. James, that he might not incur the severe displeasure of Elizabeth, nor too much expose his friends to danger, arrested Arran in St. Andrews, and confined Ker in Aberdeen. Wotton plied his time in the absence of Arran. His

\* Robertson, vol. iii. p. 23.

proposal of an alliance between the two kingdoms, in support of the reformed creed, was willingly listened to; but his intriguing genius had yet bolder schemes in view. By his advice, the banished nobles accommodated their differences with the Lords John and Claud, the Duke of Chatelherault's two sons, who, by Morton's violence, were exiles as well as themselves; and thus the discordant Houses of Hamilton and Douglas were united, and preparing to return to Scotland. Finally, by a yet more daring project, Wotton suggested to Elizabeth's faction to seize the King, and transport him into England, or to confine him in the Castle of Stirling: but his plot took air, and to escape the King's vengeance, he was necessitated to precipitate his flight.\*

A. C. 158

His flight.

Arran recovered his liberty, and resumed his seat in the council; but his activity in collecting an army, and making the necessary preparations to oppose the exiled lords, was impeded by their secret friends. The rebels, well supplied with English gold, came marching on across the borders, their friends and vassals joining them as they advanced. They halted at St. Ninians, half a mile from Stirling. During the night, they were treacherously admitted into the town by a postern gate. Next morning, they invested the Castle, which was ill provided for resistance, and the King, from necessity, caused its gates to be opened.†


Banished nobles return

The King being now at the mercy of the rebellious lords, and of the partisans of Elizabeth, was forced to make concessions at their pleasure. They

are reconciled to the King

\* Robertson, vol. iii. p. 23-26, &amp;c.

† Spottiswood, p. 342.

**A. C. 1585.**  obtained a pardon in the most ample terms : they regained their estates and honours : the principal forts in the kingdom were put into their hands for security.\* In a Parliament held at Linlithgow, these agreements were ratified. Crawford, Montrose, and Colonel Stewart, were removed from the council and the court ; and Arran, denuded of his spoils, and shorn of his title, sank down to his former obscurity, and the plain denomination of Captain James Stewart. The Scottish Court was now filled with warm partisans of Elizabeth, and a negotiation was opened with her. James, having obtained a promise that nothing should be done to the prejudice of his right to the succession, agreed to a treaty, by which the Queen of England and the King of Scotland bound themselves to aid each other against invasion, and to support the reformed faith against the efforts of the Catholic powers.†

**December 10.**

**1586.**

**Treaty concluded, July 5.**

**New Church affairs.**

The preachers were highly pleased with the reconciliation between the King and the rebellious nobles, and thence augured the greatest advantages to themselves. They solicited these nobles to procure the overthrow of Episcopacy, that remnant of Popery, and to obtain a repeal of the acts which last year had been passed to their prejudice ; but though these nobles had employed the preachers to stir up the passions of the people for their own pardon and restoration, yet as they perceived that the King was resolute to maintain the authority of these laws, they were unwilling to disoblige him by insisting on their repeal : and deeming it most

\* Cambden, p. 436. &amp;c

† Spottiswood, p. 342.

prudent to leave the preachers to fight their own battles, they remitted them to the King, who treated them with the greatest contempt, and honoured them with the appellation of *seditionary knaves*.\* The preachers assailed the nobles with that opprobrious eloquence by which they were so eminently distinguished.

The pulpits rang with the most virulent invectives and fanatical execrations against the King. A Mr. Gibson, in the ebullition of his zeal or his spite, denounced against James the curse which fell on Jeroboam, that he should “die childless, and “be the last of his race.”† Royalty, it would appear, had received no accession of honour from the new doctrines, or at least from those who propagated them; nor did great edification result from the management of ecclesiastical polity. It was believed that Patrick Adamson, archbishop of St. Andrews, had projected the statutes which were so hated by the Presbyterian clergy. He was accused in a Synod, held at St. Andrews, of that crime, and of being swollen with the venom of ambition. He disclaimed their judicature, and appealed to the King. The sentence of excommunication was decreed against Adamson, and while the moderator seemed squeamish to pronounce it, Mr. Andrew Hunter, *warned by the Spirit*, launched the thundering anathema against the prelate, who immediately caused the bolt to be hurled back upon the thunderer, with some of his associates.‡


At the King's desire, there was laid before him

\* Calderwood, p. 187.

† Spottiswood, p. 343.

‡ Ibid. p. 345.



**A. C. 1586.**  an elaborate paper, entitled, “ *Animadversions of*  
“ *Offences conceived upon the acts of Parliament*  
“ *made in the year 1584.*” James, who delighted in  
shewing his theological skill, did the ministers the  
honour to frame and subscribe an answer to the  
Animadversions, ycleped, “ The King’s Declara-  
“ tion, and Interpretation of his Acts of Parlia-  
“ ment.” The ministers *praised* God for the pre-  
cocious judgment and knowledge of the King, but  
still thought that so weighty a cause as the estab-  
lishment of an ecclesiastical polity, which (though  
it began late) was to endure to all ages, ought to  
be more deeply digested, and referred the subject  
to the next Assembly.\*

Sham agree-  
ment.

The temporising Archbishop of St. Andrews, for  
the sake of his repose, and quiet enjoyment of his  
benefice, crouched to the Assembly, begged pardon,  
and promised in future to be directed by the coun-  
sel of their united wisdom. Pleased with this sub-  
mission, the ministers consented to consider the  
sentence of excommunication as unpronounced;  
but Hunter, who by the motion of the spirit had  
pronounced the censure, affirmed that the prelate  
was not yet disentangled from the clutches of his  
Satanic Majesty.†

Shameful  
acquittal of  
Archibald  
Douglas.

James, who had basely concluded a treaty with-  
out consulting his mother, or making any stipu-  
lations for her advantage, deserved no less cen-  
sure by the acquittal of Archibald Douglas, deeply  
implicated in the conspiracy against the life of the  
King his father. He had fled into England to

\* Spottiswood, p. 343.

† Johnston’s Hist. Rerum Britan. lib. iii. Calderwood, p. 211.

escape punishment. He now obtained, from the King himself, leave to return to Scotland, where, after undergoing a mock trial, Gray announced his integrity and innocence; and James not only took the regicide into favour, but sent him back to the court of England, with the honourable commission of an ambassador.\*

A. C. 18



In addition to Mary's misfortunes, her friends inconsiderately assisted her enemies to hasten her tragical fate. The exiles, who, from various motives, espoused her cause, became split into factions, and blamed each other for the failure of the means employed to effect her liberty. Morgan and Paget complained of the interference of the jesuits. These, they said, had irritated the English cabinet and people by their writings, and had thereby sharpened the severity of persecution against the Catholics; they had undertaken the negotiations with foreign courts in favour of Mary's claims, to the exclusion of laymen, who were better qualified for that business: finally, the secrets of the cause had been betrayed by Holt and Creighton, who belonged to that order. The jesuits, on the other hand, contended, that the preservation of the Catholic faith in England was, under God, principally owing to their efforts; that Morgan and Paget were dubious characters; that their connection with Walsingham's emissaries was suspicious, and that they had often adopted unlawful projects, or such as endangered the life of the Scottish Queen. With these agreed the Archbishop of Glasgow, Mary's

Disunion  
of Mary's  
friends.

\* Spottiswood, p. 348.

A. C. 1586.



ambassador, and the House of Guise. But Morgan and Paget entertained correspondence with persons who had more frequent intercourse, and greater prevalence with Mary, and especially with Naué and Curle, her attending secretaries.\*

Morgan's  
intrigues.

Morgan, upon Parry's accusation, was violently hated by Elizabeth. She had offered ten thousand pounds for his head; and when she sent the order of the Garter to Henry III. of France, she requested in return the person of Morgan. Henry imitated the conduct of James of Scotland, when solicited to give up his favourites: he sent Morgan's papers to the Queen, and committed himself to the Bastile.† There Morgan employed his leisure in contriving means of revenge upon Elizabeth.

March 9.

With the assistance of Paget, he procured agents and associates throughout England; but his plots were counterplotted by a more artful intriguer. Walsingham corrupted the fidelity of Morgan's agents, procured them means of correspondence, and, by encouraging the projects of the Welshman, hoped to involve in the toils, and bring to the scaffold, a more illustrious victim.

Gifford and  
Greatley.

Two of Morgan's emissaries were Gifford and Greatley, two traitors, nursed and bred to sacrilegious hypocrisy. These had been sent to the English seminaries, and had studied and taken orders, to be subservient to the wily and deceitful secretary. Though strongly suspected by many Catholics, they imposed on Morgan's credulity, pretending that, although they accepted of Walsing-

\* *Mandir.* p. 442, &c.

† *Ibid.* p. 440, 444, 471.

ham's pay, it was with a view to render more efficient services to Mary. Meanwhile they travelled backwards and forwards between England and France, making ample reports to Walsingham. Pooley, a servant of Lady Sydney, was also engaged as a spy by Walsingham, the father of that lady. Pooley feigned himself a Catholic, went and came between Paris and London, brought letters to and from Mary, and was entrusted with the secrets and confidence of her friends in England, which he failed not to communicate to his chief employer.\* Another most important emissary of Morgan, disguised in an officer's uniform, and assuming the name of Captain Fortescue, had been noticed for some time past visiting the families of Catholic recusants. To unravel this mysterious character, Walsingham employed Maude, a person of profound dissimulation and artifice, who, insinuating himself into the confidence of the stranger, soon discovered that Captain Fortescue was John Ballard, a Catholic priest, and that his aim was to sound the dispositions of the Catholics amongst whom he sojourned, for the information of the exiles. Maude accompanied the tourist in his journeys at home and abroad, learned the intentions of his companion, and treasured up the intelligence he received ; heard the disapproval of his projects by Allen, and the encouragement he received from Morgan and Paget ; heard the cold and cautious recommendation of Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, and his conditional promise of assistance ;

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Ballard and  
Babington  
plot ;

\* *Scrype*, vol. iv. p. 140. *Mindin*, p. 317, &c.

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learned the undertaking of Savage (an officer who had served in the wars of Flanders), to assassinate Elizabeth ; returned with Ballard to England, and gave ample information of every particular to the Queen's secretary. Ballard communicated his projects to Anthony Babington of Dethnick, in Derbyshire, a young man of family and fortune, who had been accustomed to transmit letters to the Queen of Scots while she remained in Sheffield, and had always professed a chivalrous zeal for her service. He was persuaded that any attempt to deliver Mary during the life of Elizabeth would be vain ; but when Ballard gave him hopes that an end would soon be put to the days of the latter, for that Savage had engaged to assassinate the Queen of England, and that the Prince of Parma would invade England at the same time with a powerful force, Babington joined the combination, but observed, that the death of Elizabeth was a matter of too great importance to be trusted to one man, and that five other resolute gentlemen ought to be joined with Savage for that service, whilst others might liberate the Scottish Queen. He even offered to find out dear and trusty friends, whose secrecy and courage might be depended on, and who would risk their lives and fortunes to liberate the royal captive, and relieve their brethren from the yoke of persecution. He accordingly opened the plan to ten young gentlemen, who betrayed a reluctance which astonished him ; but Ballard and Savage applauded his resolution, and instigated him to inspire his friends for the execution of their purpose. Babington laboured to

remove their objections, and the result of every conference was made known by Pooley to Walsingham. That artful statesman rejoiced at the folly of these youths, who, in ruining themselves, gave him an opportunity of ruining the illustrious personage whom they so much desired to save. Gifford, at the desire of Walsingham, repaired to the residence of an uncle, in the neighbourhood of Chertsey, where, by the connivance of Paulet, and the bribery of a bearer, he opened a correspondence with Naué and Curle. Within a few days, he sent, by an unknown hand, a note to Babington, in the cipher of Mary, by which the latter, after a gentle reproof for discontinued service, was requested to forward to Chertsey a package which he had received from the French ambassador. Babington, suspecting no treachery, delivered the package, together with a letter from himself to the Scottish Queen. These were instantly forwarded to the Secretary, in whose office they were deciphered,\* and transcribed : then the original, or a copy, was returned to Gifford, and by him forwarded to Chertsey. The answers were returned by the same circuitous route, after having undergone the same process. On the contents of these letters we can lay little stress, after what we have seen concerning other letters. By the copies, or pretended copies, Walsingham endeavoured to implicate Mary

A. C. 15

discovered  
Walsingham

July 8.

July 25

His design  
implicating  
Mary.

\* Cambden, p. 479. Thomas Philips was employed to decipher the letters, and Arthur Gregory to counterfeit the seals. Harrison, the private secretary of Walsingham, afterwards charged that minister, Philips, and Maude, with having contrived the whole plot ; Cotton MS. Calderwood, c. ix. p. 458. Chalmers, vol. i. p. 427, apud Dr. Lingard, vol. viii. p. 257, in a note.

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with the conspirators : but we shall soon see her solemn denial that certain letters were ever received or written by her.

As soon as Mary's pretended answer was deciphered, Ballard offered to disclose the whole in-  
 chination to Walsingham ; but his disclosure was not wanted. He was instantly apprehended as a seminary priest. The Secretary then imparted to the Queen the discoveries he had made : her alarm caused an order for the immediate apprehension of the conspirators. These, hearing a whisper of the intention, tried to save themselves by flight. Edward, the brother of Lord Windsor, alone escaped the activity of the pursuers ; the rest were taken, summarily tried, condemned, and executed. Savage, Ballard, and Babington, who approved of their barbarous project, were justly deemed assassins. The guilt of the others consisted solely in their silence ; they scorned to betray their friends, who trusted to their honour.

Execution  
 of the con-  
 spirators.

Mary's pa-  
 pers, &c.  
 seized.

Meanwhile Mary was guarded with redoubled vigilance ; and before the conspirators were apprehended, Paulet had been ordered to seize her private papers, and had promised, in the cant of the age, “ to obey the orders, with the grace of the “ Almighty.” The first day that Mary took an airing on horseback, he conducted her by force to Tixal, confined her to a corner of the house, and debarred her the use of pen, ink, and paper. After three weeks of solitary confinement, she was permitted to return to Chertsey, where, on entering her apartment, she observed her cabinets were standing open : her money (upwards of two thou-

sand pounds), seals, and papers, were gone. After a moment's pause, she turned to Paulet, and with an air of dignity, and a scowl of scorn, pronounced this stinging vituperation: "*There still remain two things, Sir, which you cannot take away; the royal blood which gives me a right to the succession, and the attachment which binds my heart to the religion of my fathers.*"\* She was conveyed to Fotheringay, a strong castle in Northamptonshire.

Mary's fate was now to be determined. Elizabeth and her confidential ministers had already made up their minds; but the advice of other counsellors was solicited by the Queen; some of whom, desirous of saving the life of the captive, suggested that her advancing age, her corporal infirmities, her close confinement, accumulated sorrows, and declining health, would in all probability ere long put an end to her life, and deliver the nation from all alarm in her regard: but there were more who maintained that her death was necessary for the security of their religion; and these again fluctuated between the opinion of Leicester, who recommended the sure and less observable operation of poison, and that of Walsingham, who argued that the reputation of Elizabeth demanded the solemnity of public trial. The latter, as it had the semblance of justice, was adopted.

A commission under the great seal was issued to forty-seven peers, privy counsellors, and judges, to investigate the conduct of Mary, commonly

A. C. 158

Deliberation  
and order  
her trial.

\* Paulet's Letters in Chalmers, vol. i. p. 429-430.



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called Queen of Scotland and Dowager of France. Mary clearly saw that her death was determined, and dreaded that the malice of her enemies to blast her reputation might employ poison to take away her life. She therefore lost no time in writing to the Duke of Guise, vindicating herself in the strongest terms from the imputation of encouraging, or of being accessory to the conspiracy for assassinating Elizabeth.\*

October 11.

Mary at first  
refuses to  
plead.

On the eleventh of October, six and thirty of the commissioners appointed by Elizabeth, accompanied by the crown lawyers, arrived at Fotheringhay. She received them with courtesy, and calmly listened to the object of their visit, but disclaimed their jurisdiction, and firmly refused to submit to their authority. "Your authority," said she, "is derived from your Queen. But the Queen of England is not my superior: I am an independent Princess; nor will I disgrace the Scottish crown by condescending to plead, as a criminal, at the bar of an English court of justice." The commissioners separated dissatisfied, embarrassed, and perplexed. A remark of Hatton, that her contumacy arose from consciousness of guilt, struck to her heart; and its recurrence, in the solitude of her prison and the silence of the night, unbraced her mind. Next morning, she consented to plead, for the sake of her reputation, on condition that her protest against the authority of the court should be previously admitted.

Consents to  
plead condi-  
tionally.

It perhaps had been better that Mary had made

\* Jebb, vol. ii. p. 283.

no such concession, and that, like her grandson A. C. 1584.  
 Charles I. in a similar situation, she had firmly  
 adhered to the incompetency of the court, and pe-  
 remptorily refused to plead. Single and friendless  
 as she was, ignorant of the quirks of law, unac-  
 quainted with judicial forms, unassisted by any  
 friend or counsellor, she was no match for that  
 phalanx of lawyers which stood marshalled against  
 her. Her judges,\* too, were either her declared  
 enemies, who had long and loudly sought her death,  
 or persons whose lives and fortunes depended upon  
 their vote, in a trial equally unjust in its appoint-  
 ment, and shamefully irregular in its proceedings.  
 Yet Mary's consent to plead can only be attributed  
 to her anxious desire of vindicating her innocence  
 and her honour.

When Mary entered the great hall of the castle, October 14.  
 where the judges and lawyers were assembled, she  
 was received with much ceremony, which she re-  
 paid with modesty and dignity. She renewed her  
 protest against the authority of the court, and said,  
 that by condescending to hear and answer the ac-  
 cusations which should be adduced against her, she  
 did not acknowledge its jurisdiction, nor admit the  
 validity of its acts. This protest, after some hesi-

\* They were Bromley, Lord Chancellor Burleigh, Earls Oxford, Kent, Derby, Worcester, Rutland, Cumberland, Warwick, Pembroke, and Lincoln; Viscount Montague; Lords Abergavenny, Zouch, Morley, Stafford, Grey, Lumley, Stourton, Sands, Wentworth, Mordaunt, St. John of Blount, Compton, and Cheney; Sir James Croft, Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir P. Walsingham, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Walter Mildmay, and Sir Amyas Paulet. Before the Earls appeared the Chief-Justices Wray and Anderson, Gaudy, Justice of Common Pleas, Manhood, Baron of the Exchequer, and Dale and Ford, Doctors of Civil Law; and at a little table Popham, the Queen's attorney, and Egerton, her solicitor.

A. C. 1586.



Accusations  
against her.

tation, was granted, though the Chancellor endeavoured to vindicate the authority of the tribunal.

Elizabeth's attorney and solicitor opened the charge, which consisted of two heads; namely, that in violation of the statute enacted in the last parliament, Mary had conspired with foreigners and traitors to procure, 1°. The invasion of the realm; 2°. To compass the death of the Queen. These accusations were arranged with all the specious art, and heightened by all the sophistry that lawyers could devise, and painted with all the colouring that eloquence could display.

Her defence.

Mary stood up, with a magnanimity that commanded respect and awe, and prefaced her defence with observations that might have aroused chivalry in every generous breast, and melted hearts less obdurate than those of her hearers. She lamented her situation, that after having been allured into England by the smiles of affected friendship, she had suffered for nineteen years the miseries, hardships, and insults of captivity, which had wasted her youth, tortured her feelings, and impaired her health, and now was loaded with an impeachment which tended not only to deprive her of the right of succession, and to take away her life, but also to tarnish and blast her reputation through future ages: that here, though an anointed Queen, she was summoned to appear before the tribunal of subjects, who, though of high rank, were inferior to hers (for princes alone could be her peers): that she was subjected to hear her honour blasted by the viperous tongues of lawyers, capable of wresting her words, and breathing poison upon her actions:

that against this formidable array, she was necessitated, single and alone, to undertake her defence, without the presence of a friend, without the aid of counsel, and without the assistance of her own papers and notes, of which she had been shamefully robbed.

A. C. 1588.



She then proceeded to the articles in the accusation. In answer to the first charge, she observed, that with regard to the statute adduced, she was not bound by it. It had been schemed and fabricated directly to her prejudice, and she challenged the commissioners to lay their hands on their breasts and contradict her. She maintained, that between equals and sovereigns, as Elizabeth and she were, no other law than the law of nature existed, and that law authorised her to seek deliverance from unjust captivity. She had previously offered conditions, which Elizabeth herself had owned were reasonable: she had expressly declared, that if these were rejected, she must have recourse to other means. Now, as her requests, offers, and threats, had been rejected and despised, even supposing the letters to Mendoza, Morgan, and Paget, had been genuine, of which only pretended copies were produced, who could blame her, if she accepted the tender of her friends to set her at liberty?

First charge,  
considered as  
frivolous.

The second part of the charge, her having conspired the death of Queen Elizabeth, Mary denied with a burst of tears. She acknowledged she had solicited foreign princes to employ their interest for her relief: she had endeavoured to procure for the English Catholics some abatement of their persecution, and if she could by her death deliver them

Second  
charge, de-  
nied.

A. C. 1586.



from oppression, she would willingly die for their sake : she had warned the Queen of the dangers to which such harsh rigour exposed herself : she had checked the intemperate zeal of her own adherents, when pity for her had like to have hurried them into violent measures. But in all this, she had proposed for a pattern to herself, not Judith, but Esther. She was not so fond of an earthly crown as to ruin her soul to obtain it, nor so void of humanity and religion as to incur the guilt of assassination, equally condemned by both. She finally appealed to God as the witness of her innocence.

Alleged  
proofs ;

In proof of this part of the charge, the crown lawyers read the pretended copy of a letter from Babington to Mary, containing the following passage : “ For the despatch of the usurper, from obedience of whom, by the excommunication of her, “ we are made free, there be six noble gentlemen, “ all my private friends, who, for the zeal they bear “ to the Catholic cause and your Majesty’s service, “ will undertake the tragical execution.” This was followed by Mary’s supposed answer, in which she is made to say : “ When the forces are in readiness, “ both within and without the realm, then shall it “ be time to set the six gentlemen to work, taking “ good order, that on the accomplishment of their “ designment, I may be suddenly transported out “ of this place.”

answered and  
refuted.

Mary absolutely denied any such correspondence with Babington or Ballard, as had now been read to her. The papers produced in the court were confessedly copies of her pretended letters : no originals were exhibited, and no attempt was made to

shew what had become of the originals, or when or by whom the copies had been taken: nothing less than her handwriting or subscription was sufficient to convict her of such an odious crime: no proof could be adduced that the letters of these assassins were delivered into her hands, or that any answer was returned by her direction. To these solid and pertinent objections, the crown lawyers returned no answer, but observed a silence, not only suspicious, but tantamount to an acknowledged forgery. As a sham proof that originals had existed, they produced, first, the confession of Babington, that he had written such a letter to Mary, and had received an answer, containing similar passages; and that he believed these copies faithful transcripts of the originals. Mary replied, that she had never received such a letter from Babington, nor had written to him such an answer; that if her adversaries had wished to discover the truth, instead of putting him to death, they would have produced him as evidence against her; that his confession, if he really made it, was of little weight, as fear or hope might have extorted what was very inconsistent with truth; the honour of a Queen ought not to be stained by such testimony.

The lawyers adduced, second, the confessions of Naué and Curle, who owned that the letter of Babington intimated the appointment of six gentlemen to kill the Queen; that, at the desire of their mistress, they wrote an answer in cipher, and that the copies now produced appeared to them to be correct representations of what had been written. The Scottish Queen observed, that to make the tes-

A. C. 1586.



Objections  
from Naué  
and Curle,

A. C. 1586.

completely  
repelled.

timony of Naué and Curle of any value, they ought to be confronted with her, that the truth might be elicited. That she knew not what Naué and Curle had alleged : in order to screen themselves, they might throw the blame upon her. Of the answer attributed to her, she knew nothing before the present day : it might have been written in her name by Naué, who had formerly committed a similar offence ; or it might have been forged by Walsingham, who, if she might trust report, had not been slack in giving counsel against her life. Walsingham rose, and made a solemn but evasive denial of the charge brought against him. His apology was not approved of, and his sincerity was doubted, even by those who resembled him. Mary apologised in her turn, and hoped Walsingham would not give more credit to those who slandered her, than she did to those who accused him. As to her secretaries, they ought to be deemed unworthy of credit. They had been sworn to keep her secrets : if they had violated their oath of fidelity, their perjury on one occasion destroyed all reliance on their testimony in another.

Thus did this admirable and highly injured Queen for two days defend herself, and, if argument and truth be considered, victoriously, against a host of implacable and powerful enemies. She demanded to be heard in Parliament, or in Council, before the Queen ; but the commissioners, without pronouncing any sentence, by Elizabeth's express command adjourned to the Star-chamber in Westminster, where they accordingly assembled on the 25th of October.

On that day, Naué and Curle were brought into Court. They are reported, in the printed accounts, to have confirmed the confessions they were said to have made ; but Naué, in his apology to James, King of Scotland, asserts that he strenuously opposed the chief points of the charge against his mistress. The commissioners, however, as ignominiously and unjustly as unanimously, gave judgment, that “ Mary, daughter of James V., commonly called Queen of Scotland, and pretending title to this crown of England, was accessory to Babington’s conspiracy, and had compassed and imagined divers matters tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of the Queen, contrary to the statute specified in the commission.” They added, that this sentence should not derogate from the right or dignity of James King of Scotland ; but that he should continue in the same place, rank, and right, as if that sentence had never been pronounced.

A. C. 158

Mary declared guilty

Every candid reader will allow, that the sentence pronounced against Mary was by no means founded on the evidence produced at her mock trial. The hatred and jealousy of Elizabeth ; the selfish dread of her ministers, if Mary’s life should be spared ; their despair, if ever she should mount the English throne ; a blind prejudice and resentment of a great part of the nation : these were the causes of the sentence ; these made irrégularities be overlooked, suspicions to be grasped at, plausible falsehoods to be adopted, and suborned or intimidated evidence to be admitted ; these dictated to perverse judges an unjust and execrable condemnation.

by malevolence.



A. C. 1586.

October 29.

Ratification  
and petition  
by Parlia-  
ment.Elizabeth's  
fears.

The Parliament met a few days after the ignominious decision. Both Lords and Commons laboured under a variety of prejudices and passions: some from a base complaisance, more from abject and servile fear, most from dread of the overthrow of the reformed worship; yet all concurred in ratifying the proceedings of the commissioners, and declared their sentence just and well founded. Nor stopt they there, but added a joint address to the Queen, beseeching her, as she tendered her own safety, the preservation of the Protestant religion, and the welfare of her people, to proceed without delay, and cause the punishment to be inflicted on a guilty, a dangerous, and an irreclaimable rival.

Elizabeth hesitated, but not from compassion or remorse. Her imagination painted, in lively colours, the resentment of Catholic Sovereigns; the injured feelings of nature, and a sense of honour, that might arouse the Scottish King; the desperation of her Catholic subjects, and of all Mary's partisans in both kingdoms; finally, the lasting infamy that would stick to her name, if she shed the blood of a kinswoman and a sovereign Princess. She sought to lay these spectres by procrastination. Mary might die a natural death; she might be cut off by secret violence; the execution might seem to have taken place without her knowledge, or to have been extorted by the voice of the people, rather than by the Queen's inclination. Elizabeth thanked the Lords and Commons for their loyalty; asked if they could fall on no means to secure her life, and spare that of her kinswoman? The members replied, that such expedient was im-

possible. Elizabeth answered again, in an ambiguous and evasive style, “ If I should say, I mean “ not to grant your petition, *by my faith*, I should “ say unto you more, perhaps, than I mean : And “ if I should say that I mean to grant it, I should “ tell you more than is fit for you to know. Thus “ I must deliver to you an answer answerless.”

A.C. 156

Lord Buckhurst, in company with Beal, the secretary of the council, and Paulet, announced to Mary the judgment of the Commissioners, and its ratification by both Houses of Parliament, together with their petition to the Queen, and bade her indulge no hopes of mercy, since her attachment to her religion rendered her life incompatible with the established worship. He inconsistently offered her the service of a bishop or dean of the establishment to prepare her for death. The Scottish Queen replied, that as she never conspired or joined in any conspiracy against the life of her English sister, the judgment was unjust; but that his Lordship had candidly and truly stated, that her real crime was her religion, for the sake of which she would glory in shedding her blood : that, of course, she did not require the aid of the offered clergyman, but begged, for the sake of Christ, to have the assistance of her almoner, who she knew was in the house, though hitherto excluded from her presence. Historians disagree concerning the grant or refusal of that request at this time. Mary, however, then wrote two letters, the one to the Pope, the other to the Archbishop of Glasgow, which were faithfully delivered after her death.

Mary informed of her fate.

Glorifies suffering her faith.

The publication of the verdict pronounced against

A. C. 1586.

Basely treat-  
ed.

Her letter  
to Elizabeth.

the Scottish Queen was received by the citizens of London with demonstrations of joy ; and she herself, reflecting on the association, confirmed by a statute, and recalling the fate of the Earl of Northumberland in the Tower, justly dreaded that she also might fall by the hand of an assassin. She was, moreover, stripped of every remaining mark of royalty. The canopy of state in her apartment was pulled down : Paulet and Drury, her keepers, appeared covered in her presence, and treated her with disrespect. Shocked with these indignities, and gross familiarity, she complained to Elizabeth of this usage, and at the same time made her four last requests. These were :

1. That her body might be conveyed to France, and deposited near that of her mother.

2. That she might be permitted to send a jewel, her farewell, and blessing, to her son.

3. That her servants might be allowed to retain the small bequests which she intended to leave them.

4. That she might not be put to death in private, lest her enemies might say of her, as they said of others, that despair had caused her to commit suicide. She gave no hint of solicitation for mercy : she thanked God that he had given her courage to suffer injustice without murmuring : she regretted that her papers had not been honestly submitted to the inspection of Elizabeth ; and begged leave to remind her good sister of the account she had to render to an unerring Judge.

Finally, she conjured her, by the holy name of Jesus, by the soul and memory of Henry VII.,

their common progenitor, by their near consanguinity and royal dignity, to gratify her in these particulars, and to signify her compliance by a letter from her own hand. How Elizabeth was affected by that eloquent and impressive letter, it is hard to say ; but no answer was returned.

All the sovereigns of Europe were struck with amazement and horror at the tyrannical and cruel proceedings of Elizabeth. They all felt their royal dignity wounded by the impending fate of a free princess : all were conscious that they were bound to interpose their utmost efforts to avert the ignominious stroke. The Kings of France and Scotland especially, as being more nearly allied in blood, more warmly resented the injury : their bowels yearned to rescue a sister and a mother. Henry, whatever aversion he might entertain against the House of Guise, could not brook that a head which had worn the crown of France, should sink under the axe of the executioner, by the unjust sentence of an imperious and jealous rival. He had often instructed L'Aubespine, his resident at the English Court, to remonstrate against the ill treatment of the Scottish Queen ; but all the expostulations of that ambassador were ineffectual. Henry now despatched Bellievre with a special commission, to use the strongest language for the preservation of Mary's life. After much vexatious delay, Bellievre obtained admission to the royal presence, and executed his embassy with fidelity and ability, using every argument that friendship or the urgent nature of the case could suggest, with all the eloquence that language could display, and essaying all that

A. C. 1587.

Not answered.

1587.

Foreign Sovereigns resent Elizabeth's violation of royal

Henry interposes to save Mary, January 2.

A. C. 1587.



January 8.

might insinuate and gain, all that could restrain or alarm. Elizabeth replied, with a tone of asperity and wildness of demeanour that indicated the malice that rankled in her heart: "Sir, have you authority from your sovereign to employ such language?" "Yes, madam, he has expressly commanded me to use it." "Is your authority signed with his hand?" "It is, madam." "Then I require you to testify as much in your writing." This he did.\* After much procrastination, Elizabeth dismissed Bellievre, saying, she would send an answer by a messenger of her own. L'Aubespine, the resident ambassador, resumed the intercession: he was silenced by a malicious charge. A vague rumour had been spread of a new conspiracy to assassinate Elizabeth, of which the ministers informed L'Aubespine that he was suspected of being the author; and though they professed to disbelieve the accusation, his secretary was imprisoned, and his despatches were intercepted and examined; but these contained no allusion to the pretended conspiracy.† L'Aubespine remonstrated with warmth and contempt, and left England. Henry resented the insult offered to his representative: yet he condescended to despatch another envoy, who could never procure access to the Queen. All official correspondence through the ambassadors of the two Courts was interrupted; but Elizabeth, knowing Henry's antipathy to the House of Guise, trusted that these loud remonstrances would be followed by no violent resentment.‡

\* See Bellievre's Arguments; Camden, p. 522-523.

† Jebb, vol. ii. p. 324.

‡ Camden, p. 531.

Though the Scottish King had hitherto behaved as an unnatural and undutiful son, winking at her captivity, which freed him from a dangerous rival, and had been taught that his interference in her favour would endanger his succession to the English throne, yet now perceiving the imminent danger of his mother's life, the emotions of nature, the exhortations of the King of France, and the remonstrances of the Scottish nobility (whose national pride was wounded by the insult offered to the blood of their monarchs), aroused James from his apathy, and compelled him to display the affection of a son and the spirit of a monarch. He despatched Sir William Keith to London, and commanded him, together with his resident, Archibald Douglas, to remonstrate in the strongest terms against the injury already offered to an independent queen, and to beseech Elizabeth not to suffer the execution of a sentence, unjust in itself, and dishonourable in the last degree to the King of Scotland and son of the Scottish Queen. Receiving no answer to the expostulations of his ambassadors, James wrote with his own hand to Elizabeth, complaining in the bitterest terms of her conduct, and threatening, if she persisted in her purpose, that his duty and honour would oblige him to renounce her friendship, and to employ the whole strength of his kingdom, and implore the aid of other courts, to revenge his mother's wrongs. Elizabeth, enraged to the highest degree by the tenor and style of this letter, was ready to expel James's ambassadors with a silent frown ; but her ministers, fearing the consequences, prevailed upon her to send a soft and

A. C. 15

James re-  
monstrates  
without eff

A. C. 1587.

evasive answer, promising to suspend the execution of the sentence until the arrival of new envoys from Scotland.

James instantly despatched the Master of Gray and Sir Robert Melvil, to employ entreaties and threats. They proposed that Mary should resign all her rights and pretensions to her son. This would effectually secure Elizabeth's safety from the plots of a competitor, and the Protestant religion from the enmity of a Catholic successor to the throne. The proposal was rejected as insecure and irrelevant, since, after her condemnation, Mary had no rights to resign. Sir Robert Melvil then assumed a higher tone, and protested that his master would in honour be compelled to revenge his mother's death. Elizabeth flung from Melvil in a state of perturbation and anger, telling him that his counsel, entreaties, and menaces, were all insolent and vain.\* Melvil and Keith executed their commission with fidelity and zeal, but Douglas and Gray proved traitors: they deemed their own safety dependent on Mary's death. Gray, especially, privately whispered in the Queen's ear the old adage, *The dead cannot bite*.

Treachery of  
his envoys.

Elizabeth's  
perplexity.

Elizabeth, after the publication of the sentence, remained for two months in a state of perplexity and disquietude: she dreaded the infamy of an action which she ardently wished should be accomplished. Her people waited her determination with suspense and anxiety: rumours of plots, invasions, and rebellions, were artfully invented, and

\* Melvil's Memoir, p. 346. Spottiswood, p. 352.

industriously propagated. Amidst this commotion, Elizabeth at length resolved to strike the blow.\* She commanded her secretary, Davidson, to bring her a proper warrant for the execution. He brought her a commission, written by Burleigh, directed to the Earl of Shrewsbury as Earl-Marshal, and to the Earls of Kent, Derby, Cumberland, and Pembroke, as his assistants. She approved of and signed this fatal instrument, with a barbarous jesting that might have suited Nero. "Go," said she to Davidson; "carry this to the Great Seal, and on your way shew it to Walsingham, though I am afraid he will die for grief at the sight of it." Still she was haunted with the dread of the infamy that this deed of giving up a Queen, her own nearest relation, into the hands of the executioner, would attach to her memory. She had often hinted to Paulet, Drury, and other members of the association, that she expected their zeal would extricate her out of her present perplexity, but they affected not to understand her meaning. After the warrant was signed, she commanded a letter to be written to Paulet, in plainer terms, complaining of his remissness in sparing so long the life of her capital enemy, and begging him and Drury to remember at length what the duty of affectionate subjects, and the oath of association, bound them to do; namely, to deliver their Sovereign from continual fear and danger, by shortening the days of their prisoner. Paulet, though a stern bigot, though he hated Mary as a Catholic, though he

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Signs the  
death-war-  
rant.

Proposes  
assassina-  
tion.

\* Camden, p. 533-534.



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treated her often with harshness, and sometimes with barbarity; yet he had too much sense and honesty to be duped with such sophistry, and too much integrity to act the part of an assassin. He replied, that the Queen might dispose of his life and property, but that he would not sacrifice his conscience, nor stamp a mark of infamy on his posterity, by perpetrating so foul a crime.

Leicester and Walsingham were appointed to address letters to James, and to his secretary Maitland, in the most artful and delicate terms, to prepare the King for the melancholy news of his mother's death.\* James felt with unavailing grief the dilemma in which he was entangled, by a princess who held in her hand his future fortunes. He announced to his subjects the mournful condition of his mother; he ordered a form of prayer, composed with delicacy and caution, to be said for her in all the churches; he enjoined them to pray, "that it might please God to enlighten Mary with the light of his truth, and to protect her from the danger which was hanging over her." But the clergy refused to prostitute their pulpits by petitioning the Almighty in favour of a papist.

James, shocked with their spirit of intolerance and sedition, renewed his injunctions, and again appointed a day of prayer for his mother; and to preclude the danger of insult, appointed the Archbishop of St. Andrews to officiate in his presence in a church in Edinburgh; but the ministers persuaded a Mr. Cowper, a probationer in divinity,

Behaviour of  
the Scottish  
preachers.

\* Camden, p. 533. Spottiswood, p. 353.

to pre-occupy the pulpit. The King, entering the church, expressed his surprise ; but told Cowper, that, if he would obey his injunction, he might proceed to officiate. Cowper replied, that he would do as the spirit of God should direct him. The King commanded him to retire, and the captain of his guard advanced to compel obedience. The enraged probationer exclaimed that this violence would witness against the King on the great day of the Lord, and denounced a curse against the audience for not exerting themselves in his defence. The archbishop then ascending the pulpit, performed the function for which he had been called, and lectured his audience on the duties of moderation, praying for all mankind, *and of leading quiet and peaceable lives under, and praying specially for kings, and all in high stations.* In the afternoon, Cowper was called before the Privy Council, and was accompanied thither by Mr. Walter Cananquall and Mr. William Watson, two ministers of distinguished zeal. Cowper, as the meed of his petulance, was committed to the Castle of Blackness; and his supporters, for the impudent vindication of their *protégé*, were prohibited from preaching during the King's pleasure.\*

Elizabeth, next morning, after having signed the warrant, forbade Davidson to take it to the Chancellor. When told that the seal was already affixed, she expressed her surprise, but did not recall it. She repeated her persuasion that the death of the Scottish Queen might be better accomplished

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Disassembled  
with Davidson.

\* Spottiswood, p. 354.

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by some other expedient ; but when Davidson read to her the answer of Paulet, she burst out into expressions of anger and disappointment. That gentleman was no longer her *dear and faithful Paulet* : he was *a precise and dainty fellow, who would promise much, and perform nothing* ; who, notwithstanding his association oath, would perjure himself to fling the blame upon her shoulders : but she knew of others less scrupulous, and proposed to employ one Wingfield, who possessed courage and inclination to strike the blow. Amidst such peevish brawlings, she abruptly retired.

Davidson, from this ambiguous language of the Queen, was at a loss whether he ought to detain or forward the warrant. To exonerate himself, he delivered it up to Lord Burleigh, its original composer. That nobleman called a council. The privy counsellors thought themselves authorised to proceed. The Queen had done all that was required by law ; to give her farther trouble was needless and troublesome to her feelings : they ought to take the responsibility upon themselves. Prompted, as they pretended, by zeal for the Queen's safety, but in reality by the apprehension of their own danger, they immediately despatched the warrant, under the care of Beal, clerk of the council, with a joint letter from themselves, empowering the Earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, together with the High Sheriff of the county, to see the sentence put in execution.

Commission  
sent to Fo-  
theringay.

February 7.

These arrived at Fotheringay on the 7th of February. The Queen, who was rather indisposed, arose from bed, dressed herself, and received them,

together with several gentlemen of the county. Beal read the warrant for execution. Mary listened to it with great composure. Then, crossing herself in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, "That soul," said she, "is unworthy of the joys of heaven, which is unwilling to suffer the stroke of the executioner, which is to set it free from the body." The day, she said, had at last arrived, which she had long desired, and which put an end to a long and languishing imprisonment; nor could she have wished a more happy termination of life, than to shed her blood for her religion. She briefly enumerated the wrongs she had suffered, the reasonable offers she had made, the malice, frauds, and artifices, employed by her enemies; then, laying her hand on a New Testament which lay on the table, "As for the death of the Queen, your sovereign," said she, "I call God to witness, that I never imagined it, never sought it, nor ever consented to it." The Earl of Kent excepted against her oath, as being made upon a popish Testament. "It is on that account," rejoined the Queen, "that I esteem it the more, my Lord; and therefore, according to your own reasoning, you ought to judge my oath the more satisfactory." Indulging his puritanical fervour, the Earl declaimed against popery, and exhorted her to renounce its errors, to embrace the true faith, and accept of the spiritual service of the Dean of Peterborough, a learned divine. Mary replied, that she was not ignorant of controversy; that she had read much, and had listened to the most learned of the reformed preachers, but had

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Mary makes  
oath of her  
innocence.

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never heard any argument that could startle her in her belief, much less induce her to abandon the faith of her fathers ; and begged, that instead of the Dean of Peterborough, she might have the aid of her almoner, who was still in the house, and that she might enjoy the benefit and consolation of those pious institutions prescribed by her religion. But even this favour, which is seldom denied to the vilest criminal, was absolutely refused. The two earls observed, that her request was contrary to the law of God and the law of the land, and would endanger the safety of the commissioners both in soul and body. The Earl of Kent exclaimed, that her life would be the death of their religion, and her death would be its life. Mary asked, if neither her son nor any of the foreign powers had interceded in her favour : she inquired concerning her secretaries Naué and Curle, and particularly whether Naué were dead or alive ? Drury replied, that he was still in prison. The Queen exclaimed, “ Is my life to be taken, and “ Naué’s life spared ? I protest before God,” putting her hand again on the Scriptures, “ that Naué “ is the author of my death. He has brought me “ to the scaffold, and to save his own life. I die “ in the place of Naué ; but the truth will soon be “ known.” Finally, she inquired when she was to suffer ? The Earl of Shrewsbury answered, with visible perturbation, “ To-morrow morning, at “ eight o’clock.”

Mary had heard the denunciation of her death with a composure and religious fortitude that awed and affected the beholders. Her servants, when

left alone with their mistress, burst into tears and sorrowful lamentations. Mary, while she experienced a melancholy pleasure in their kind condolence, endeavoured to console them, saying, “ This “ is not a time to weep, but to rejoice. In a few “ hours you will see the end of my misfortunes. “ My enemies may now say what they please, but “ the Earl of Kent has betrayed the secret, that “ my religion is the real cause of my death.” Then falling on her knees, with all her domestics round her, she thanked Heaven that her sufferings were now so near an end ; and prayed that she might be enabled to endure what still remained with fortitude and resignation.

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Consoles her servants.

After long and fervent prayer, she supped sparingly, according to her custom. She drank to all her servants, who, in return, pledged her on their knees, mingling tears with the wine, and asking pardon for any offences they had committed in her service. She condescended, in her turn, to solicit their forgiveness if she had ever spoken or acted unkindly towards them, and concluded with a few tender admonitions for their future conduct : even then, she could not help recalling and mentioning that Naué was the author of her death.

This last and important night of Mary's life, she divided into three parts. The first was occupied in the writing of her will, and of three letters, to her confessor, her cousin the Duke of Guise, and the King of France. The second she gave to exercises of devotion in her closet, with her two maids, Jane Kennedy and Elspeth Curle. She read and prayed alternately. She especially read and

Her employment during the night.

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meditated on the passion of Christ, and endeavoured to draw from the fountains of her Saviour, the imitation of the patience and fortitude manifested in that blessed example. The third part was allotted to repose. About four o'clock she went to bed ; but her mind was too much engrossed with the awful change that was impending, to allow slumber to close her eye-lids : her lips were observed in constant motion, and her mind was absorbed in prayer.

She arose early in the morning, dressed herself in a mourning habit appropriate to the rank of a Queen-Dowager, but with an elegance and splendour which she had long laid aside, except upon a few festival days. Her head-dress was of fine lawn, edged with bone lace, with a veil thrown back and reaching to the ground. A pomander chain, with a cross of gold, was suspended from her neck ; her beads hung at her girdle. Her domestics assembled around her : she read to them her will, distributed among them her clothes and money, and bade them adieu, kissing the women, and giving her hand to kiss to the men. Weeping, they followed her into her oratory, where she placed herself on the front of the altar : they knelt down and prayed behind her. There she received that strength and consolation from the mercy of her God, that confounded her enemies. At eight o'clock, Andrews the sheriff, and his officers, entered the oratory. Mary arose ; and taking the crucifix from the altar in her right hand, and holding her prayer-book in her left, to her servants, who were forbidden to follow, the Queen gave her blessing : they received it on their

She is summoned to the scaffold, February 8.

knees, kissing her hands or her mantle : while she descended the staircase, the burst of their wailings resounded through the sorrowful hall. At the foot of the stair, the two earls, accompanied by several gentlemen, received her ; and there Melvil, the steward of her household, threw himself on his knees, wringing his hands, and melting in tears, bewailed her condition, and his own unhappy fate, who was to carry the account to Scotland of the lamentable death of his good and gracious Queen and mistress. Mary thus consoled him :  
 “ Good Melvil, cease to lament : thou hast rather  
 “ cause to rejoice than mourn ; thou shalt this day  
 “ see Mary Stuart delivered from all her troubles.  
 “ Know that this world is but vanity, subject to  
 “ more sorrow than an ocean of tears can bewail.  
 “ But I pray thee report, that I die a true woman  
 “ to my religion, to Scotland, and to France. May  
 “ God forgive them, who have long thirsted for  
 “ my blood, as the hart doth for the brooks of  
 “ water. O God, thou art the author of truth, and  
 “ truth itself : Thou knowest the inward chambers  
 “ of my thoughts, and that I always wished the  
 “ union of England with Scotland ! Commend me  
 “ to my son, and tell him that I have done nothing  
 “ prejudicial to the dignity or independence of his  
 “ crown, or favourable to the pretended superiority  
 “ of our enemies.” Then, bursting into tears, she  
 said, “ Good Melvil, farewell ! and pray for thy  
 “ mistress and Queen !”

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Her discourse  
with Melvil.

Mary made her last request that her servants might be present at her death. The Earl of Kent objected, that they would be a great annoyance by

Demands the  
admission of  
her servants.



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their lamentations, and might perhaps use superstitious fooleries, such as dipping their handkerchiefs in her Grace's blood. "My Lords," said Mary, "I will give my word that none of their actions shall be blameable. Certainly your mistress, being a maiden Queen, will grant that, for sake of our sex. I may have some of my women about me at my death. You might, I think, grant me a greater courtesy, were I of lesser rank than a Queen of Scotland." Receiving no answer, she exclaimed, with some vehemence, "Am I not cousin to your Queen, a descendant of the blood-royal of Henry VII., a dowager of France, and the anointed Queen of Scotland." The Earl of Shrewsbury interposed: and it was agreed, that two of her women, and four of her men-servants should be admitted. She selected her steward, physician, apothecary, and surgeon, with her maids. Kennedy and Curle.

Enters the  
hall.

A scaffold had been erected in the same hall where Mary's mock trial was held: it was raised a little above the floor, covered with black serge, and surrounded with a low railing. The dismal procession now proceeded. It was led by the sheriff and his officers: next followed Paulet and Drury, with the Earls Shrewsbury and Kent; and lastly came the illustrious victim Queen, with Melvil bearing her train. Her step was firm, and her countenance serene. She beheld the appalling apparatus, and bore the gaze of the numerous spectators without shrinking. The lustre of her beauty was yet dazzling, and she advanced with that air of grace and majesty that she displayed in the hall of her fathers, in the days of other years. She.

with a composed aspect, turned her eye to the block, the axe, and the executioners ; but the spectators were dissolved in tears. To aid her as she mounted the scaffold, Paulet offered his arm : “ I thank you, sir,” said Mary ; “ it is the last trouble I shall give you, and the most acceptable service you have ever rendered me.”

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The Queen seated herself on a stool which was prepared for her. On her right, stood the two earls ; on the left, the sheriff, and Beal, the clerk of the council ; in front, the executioner from the Tower, in a suit of black velvet, with his assistant also in black. Beal read the warrant for execution ; to which the Queen listened carelessly, and as occupied with other thoughts : she then, in an audible voice, addressed the assembly. She would have them recollect, she said, that she was a Sovereign Princess, nowise subject to the Parliament of England, but dragged to this scaffold to suffer by injustice and violence. She, however, thanked God, that he had given her this opportunity of publicly professing her religion, and of declaring, as she had often before declared, that she had never imagined, compassed, nor consented to the death of the English Queen, nor ever sought the least harm to her person ; that, after her death, many things then buried in darkness would come to light. But she forgave from her heart all her enemies, nor should her tongue utter that which might turn to their prejudice. Here she was interrupted by Dr. Fletcher, the dean of Peterborough, who took his station opposite to her, without the rails ; and whatever his motives might be, his behaviour was

Addresses  
the assembly:Is harassed  
by the Dean  
of Peter-  
borough.

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indecent and coarse in the highest degree, and tended only to insult the feelings of the unfortunate sufferer, and indeed insulted the religion which he professed, and the Sovereign whom he flattered. He told her, that his mistress, though compelled to execute justice on her body, was careful of the welfare of her soul, and had sent him to bring her to the true fold of Christ, out of the communion of that church, in which, if she remained, she must be punished with everlasting fire. Twice she interrupted him with great gentleness, yet he pertinaciously continued. Then, raising her voice, she, with a more resolute tone, desired him to withhold his exhortations and menaces. “ I was “ baptised,” said she, “ and educated in the Roman Catholic religion : I have experienced its “ comforts during my life, in the trying seasons “ of sickness, calamity, and sorrow : and I am resolved to die in it.” The Earl of Shrewsbury ordered the Dean to desist, and to content himself with praying for her conversion. His prayer was the echo of his sermon : but Mary, falling on her knees, employed herself in other devotions. She repeated audibly long passages from the Psalms, in the Latin tongue. She prayed in English for Christ’s afflicted church, for her son James, and for Queen Elizabeth. She declared she hoped for mercy only through the death of Christ, before whose image she now willingly shed her blood ; and, holding up the crucifix, she exclaimed, “ As “ thy arms, O God, were stretched out upon the “ cross, so receive me into the arms of thy mercy, “ and forgive me my sins.” “ Madam,” said the

Earl of Kent, “you had better leave such popish trumperies, and bear him in your heart.” She replied, “It were difficult to hold in my hand the representation of his sufferings, and not to bear him at the same time in my heart.”

When her maids, bathed in tears, began to disrobe their mistress, the executioners, fearing to lose their usual perquisites, hastily interfered : the Queen gently checked them, but instantly submitted, saying, with a smile, that she had not been accustomed to undress before so many spectators, nor to be served by such valets. Her servants, in this eventful moment, were unable to suppress their feelings ; but Mary, putting her finger to her lips, enjoined silence, gave them her blessing, and solicited their prayers. She then seated herself again. Kennedy, taking a handkerchief edged with gold, pinned it over her eyes. With calm, but undaunted fortitude, she laid her neck on the block, kneeling, and repeating with a firm voice, “*Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit.*” The hardest hearts relented, every bosom sobbed, every eye ran with tears. Even the headsman was disconcerted ; he trembled, missed his aim, and inflicted a deep wound in the lower part of the skull. The Queen remained motionless ; the third stroke only severed her head from the body, which falling out of its attire, discovered a premature hoariness, the effect of accumulated cares and sorrows. When the executioner held it, the muscles of that beautiful face were so convulsed, that its once enchanting features could not be recognised. He cried, as usual, “God save Queen Elizabeth !” “So perish all her ene-

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Is behead  
February

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Treatment  
of her body.

**“ mies !” subjoined the dean : “ So perish all the  
“ enemies of the gospel !” loudly exclaimed the pu-  
ritanical Earl of Kent. Not a murmur of response  
was heard : sorrow had sealed every lip : every  
heart vibrated with sentiments of admiration, pity,  
and woe. Her women hastened to protect her dead  
body from idle curiosity, and hoped to have the  
mournful solace of laying it out in decent funeral  
attire, but they were deprived of that melancholy  
pleasure, and chased from the hall with indignity.  
Burgogne, her physician, begged leave to take out  
her heart, and to carry it with him to France, but  
his entreaty was refused with anger and disdain.  
Her remains were carried, by the rude hands of  
the executioners, into an adjoining apartment, and  
covered with a coarse cloth, torn from an old billiard  
table. The block, the cushion, the scaffold, and  
the garments which were stained with her blood,  
were consumed with fire. The body, after being  
embalmed, was enclosed in a leaden coffin, and kept  
in the same room for six months, and afterwards,  
by Elizabeth’s orders, interred with royal pomp in  
the Abbey Church of Peterborough. Twenty-five  
years after, her son caused her bones to be trans-  
ferred to Westminster, and deposited among the  
kings of England.**

Sketch of  
Mary’s life  
and charac-  
ter.

Such was the melancholy fate of the beautiful,  
the amiable, the accomplished Mary Stuart, in the  
forty-fifth year of her age. There perhaps never  
was a more striking proof of the vanity of all hu-  
man grandeur, and of all that the world admires,  
than the history of this Scottish Queen. She was  
descended from the ancient and illustrious line of a

hundred and eight Scottish monarchs : she was herself a queen, when only a week old. She was educated in the politest court of Europe. She was endowed with all the graces that nature could lavish on a human form. Her incomparable beauty and expression of countenance, her majestic stature and symmetry of shape, her raven hair and fine complexion, her brilliant and expressive eyes, her melodious voice, her easy and dignified air, walk, and gesture, attracted and fixed the admiration of every beholder. Her mental talents were no less eminent. Her understanding was clear, her judgment penetrating, her spirit lofty, her application vigorous, her learning respectable, her taste elegant. Her ear for music was just and refined : she sung and played upon the lute with uncommon skill. Her manners were gentle, her temper cheerful, her conversation easy and flowing, her wit polite, her information various. To these external and internal qualities, she added the adventitious aid and embellishments of all that the riches, variety, and taste of dress, or the lustre of jewels, could confer. No wonder that so distinguished and so accomplished a Princess should captivate the Dauphin of France, and, in her seventeenth year, be elevated to the first European throne, where all her transcendant qualities shone and were fully appreciated. Upon the death of her cousin, Mary of England, and the accession of Elizabeth, she became the presumptive heir of the English crown, and by many was deemed the legitimate sovereign of that realm. Such were the extraordinary advantages that nature and fortune had lavished on Mary. But let us turn our

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eyes to the shades with which fortune darkened this fine portrait. Mary, yet a child, by the disturbances that embroiled her kingdom, was necessitated to seek an asylum in a foreign realm, and the snares laid to capture her during her voyage were yet more dangerous than the stormy ocean over which she had to sail. Raised to the pinnacle of human glory, on the throne of France, she did not long enjoy that transient grandeur. On the death of her husband, she retired from court to indulge the grief of her widowhood, and to shun the frown of a jealous mother-in-law. Invited home to her native kingdom, she narrowly escaped the ambushes of a yet more jealous and malignant rival. The rejoicings with which she was welcomed, were soon damped by the insults offered to herself and her religion. She saw the religion of her fathers, which had flourished in Scotland for more than thirteen centuries, overturned by the avarice and ambition of her nobles, and by the wild fanaticism of furious and self-constituted preachers. She saw the seeds of rebellion springing up with novelty of doctrines. The throne and the laws are seldom respected when the foundations of faith are shaken. Deceived by the treachery of smiling, but insidious and corrupted counsellors, and exposed to the unceasing hatred, jealous suspicions, and unreasonable demands of turbulent ecclesiastics, she perpetually experienced the pangs of disappointment and the malignity of detractions. Courted and sought in marriage by kings and princes, she was most unfortunate in her choice of a husband. She was driven, in some sort, to this rash union, by the caprice and selfishness

of her imperious rival, who, in every momentous affair, strove to disturb the peace and accomplish the ruin of her sister queen, which she could the more easily effect, since, besides exorbitant power and immense wealth, she had the good fortune to be served by statesmen of eminent talents, and who were as sincerely devoted to her purposes, as Mary's ministers were destitute of integrity and patriotism. Circumvented by the insidious wiles of an artful and unprincipled man, and by the detestable collusion of corrupted nobles, Mary was ensnared into a compliance, which, though we cannot justify, yet we must blame with sympathizing sorrow. This ill-fated event gave her enemies the opportunity of completing their conspiracy, and of tumbling her from her paternal throne, and immuring her within the walls of a prison. When, by her address, she had recovered her liberty, she was again discomfited by the craftiness of her enemies, and by the ill-concerted measures of her friends ; after which, by an ever-to-be-lamented rashness, she threw herself into the toils of a treacherous, cruel, and unrelenting enemy, who had decoyed her by assuming the guise of friendship. Hence the accumulated sorrows, insults, calumnies, mortifications, humiliations, disappointments, solitudes for her country and her son, ill-treatment, and persecutions of malice and bigotry, with which she was loaded in the various prisons in which she consumed the last nineteen years of her melancholy existence.

Yet, while the bitter cup of her fortune was always full, and often overflowing, amidst the most agonizing afflictions Mary's spirit never sank : she



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still maintained the dignity and elevation of a Queen. Under the vexatious and unjust accusations and trials to which she was subjected, though denied the justice of being confronted with her accusers, yet, from the gloom of her prison, she instructed her deputies how to clear her innocence, and retort the ignominious charges upon her adversaries ; and in spite of sophistry, artifice, and malevolence, still came off victorious, or caused every unprejudiced mind to vindicate her against unjust condemnation. In her letters to Elizabeth, and during the last trial, supported only by her talents and by her innocence, she proved herself an overmatch for Elizabeth, and all her able ministers and subservient judges.

O admirable Queen ! worthy of a better fortune, if the fortunes of this world were of any real estimation ! You sustained a just cause with fortitude ; and it remained that you should stand firm amidst overwhelming malignity and power : Your misfortunes instructed you in the science of the Gospel : You humbly thanked God for granting you the happiness of shedding your blood for your religion : You learned that prosperity is apt to blind unthinking mortals, and make them forget God and themselves ; that Christianity drew its origin from the Cross, and grew and gathered strength amidst persecution ; that, in adversity, we revolve, in the bitterness of our soul, our past errors and failings, with this singular consolation, that by deploring we repair them ! Let us, then, no longer bewail the sufferings of this illustrious Princess, which have been the means of her hap-

piness. Had she been more fortunate, her history might have been more pompous, but her end might have been less happy. By accepting, with pious resignation, the tribulations and sufferings sent her, we may hope she has received the consolations promised to those who mourn, and the crown destined to those who suffer for justice sake !

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## CHAPTER VII.

**Dissimulation of Elizabeth—James appeased—Gray disgraced—Annexation of Church-lands to the Crown—Proclamation against Jesuits—Cry of no Popery—Spain prepares to invade England—James solicited by both Courts—Armada sails—is defeated by storms and battle—James then accedes to Elizabeth's offers—Elizabeth's ingratitude to the Catholics—Elizabeth urges severity against the Catholic Lords—Reasons for James's lenity—The King's Marriage—Presbyterian Church polity established by law—Morality not improved—Bothwell's base attempts—Murray killed—Schism at St. Andrews—Conspiracy of the Catholic Lords detected—Clerical interference—Kirk censure made outlawry—Elizabeth grieved at Henry IV.'s conversion—The Catholic Lords forfeited—Battle of Altnahoilachan—Huntly and Errol go into exile—James loses the favour of the Catholics—New Armada threatened—Alarms of the Scottish Ministers—their illegal standing Council—their murmurs, scurrility, sedition, and contumacy—The King adopts measures to maintain his authority and curb the Preachers—The Catholic Lords insincerely conform to the new Creed—New Clergy introduced to Parliament—Gowrie's Conspiracy—James at great pains to conciliate the favour of Catholic Princes, for his obtaining the succession to the English Crown—Schemes of the Earl of Essex—Urges James to join him—fails—is executed—Carol espouses James's cause—Elizabeth's illness and death—James proclaimed King of Britain and Ireland.**

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**Dissimula-  
tion of Eli-  
zabeth.**

**DISSIMULATION** and artifice had characterised all the proceedings of Elizabeth with Mary during her life : the boldest and most barefaced attempt of deceit, to gull the friends of the Scottish Queen, remained yet to be exhibited. Having glutted her vengeance, Elizabeth strove to secure her fame by pretended ignorance of Mary's execution ; but sighs, tears, lamentations, and affected mourning, were too thin a disguise : the suspension of her ministers from their offices for a time, her depriving

Davidson of office and favour for life, his imprisonment in the Tower, and his heavy fine of ten thousand pounds, could not prove the sincerity of her regret. Her letter to Paulet betrayed her real and genuine sentiments.

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The Scottish King, on hearing the sad tidings, burst into tears, and threatened vengeance and resentment. His subjects partook of his grief and indignation; they felt the dishonour of their nation, and offered to risk their lives and fortunes in revenging the insult. Robert Carey, a son of Lord Hunsdon, sent from Elizabeth with an artful letter of apology, to soothe James and his subjects, was refused audience of the King; but Elizabeth's letter, containing the tale of Davidson's rashness and treachery, was afterwards delivered to James, and her partisans in the Scottish court strongly supported her cause. Leicester wrote to the King, and Walsingham to his secretary, urging the impolicy and folly of attempting a war with England. James saw the danger of provoking the person who held his fortune in her hands; and the emotions of indignation were suppressed by the suggestions of prudence, and the prospect of interest.

James is somewhat peased for his mother's death.

The menaces of Henry III. were equally ineffectual. He was embroiled in a destructive war with his rebellious subjects, which engrossed all his care and his forces. He admitted an apology, and renewed his relations of amity with England. The King of Spain dissembled this and other insults of Elizabeth for the present, awaiting the time and the means of retaliation.

James learned with astonishment the perfidy of

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Gray dis-  
graced.

the Master of Gray, in his late embassy. The adversaries of that late favourite perceived with pleasure the King's indignation; and Sir William Stewart, in revenge of the treachery by which Gray had betrayed his brother Captain James, accused him before a convention of the nobles. Gray made a feeble defence, and was condemned to perpetual banishment. His punishment, too small for his delinquency, was not enforced, and he was allowed to bear the burden of his disgrace and odium in his native country.

James tries  
to reconcile  
the disagree-  
ing nobles.

As a preparation to a Parliament that was to be held on the 29th of July, James made a laudable attempt to reconcile with each other the wrangling nobles of his kingdom. For that purpose, he entertained them at a royal banquet in his palace of Holyroodhouse, and obtained their promise to bury their dissensions in perpetual oblivion. From thence he conducted them in procession through the streets of Edinburgh, marching by pairs, each hand-in-hand with his former enemy. A collation of sweetmeats and wine was prepared at the market-cross, where they drank to each other, and exhibited mutually the signs of a friendship which was neither sincere nor lasting.\*

A commis-  
sion from the  
Assembly to  
Parliament.

The Parliament being convened, commissioners from the General Assembly presented themselves, petitioning that the nominal prelates there sitting should be turned out, as having no commission or authority from the church as her representatives, nor having any ecclesiastic charge. This petition

\* Spottiswood, p. 264.

was simply rejected ; but all laws enacted during the King's minority, in favour of the new creed, and for censure and punishment of its adversaries, were confirmed.\*

A. C. 1587.



Although the greater part of the church-lands had already been seized by the nobles and other cormorants of the times, or had been erected into new lordships by the abbots and priors, or their friends, yet a considerable portion of them remained still unalienated, and were held by the nominal bishops of the day, or had been only granted to laymen during pleasure. All these lands, by one general law, were annexed to the crown by an act of this Parliament ; and the King, to support the expenses of government, was empowered to apply the rents thereof to the foresaid charges. Yet the King was not much enriched by this acquisition ; the court harpies were the greatest gainers.†

Annexation  
of the church-  
lands to the  
Crown.

An act was passed in favour of the smaller barons, allowing them to have a voice in Parliament by their commissioners or representatives. The King hoped thereby to attach these representatives to himself, to counterbalance the increased power of the nobles ; but he found them afterwards more troublesome than advantageous. The number of freeholders increasing, this act paved the way for the commons sending their representatives to Parliament.

Lesser Barons  
are to send  
Commission-  
ers to Parlia-  
ment.

In the end of this year, a proclamation was issued for apprehending jesuits and seminary priests, and for punishing their *resetters*. In that procla-

Proclamation  
against Je-  
suits, &c.

\* Spottiswood, p. 365.

† Ibid. p. 365, 366.

A. C. 1587.



mation are named Mr. James Gordon, jesuit, uncle to the Earl of Huntly; Mr. Edmund Hay; Mr. Gilbert Brown, abbot of Newbottle; Mr. John Drury, once abbot of Dunfermline; Messrs. Alexander Meldrum, William Creichton, James Seaton, and John Morton. Most of these, upon giving surety for their peaceable demeanour, obtained protection until the end of January ensuing.

1588.

**Demands  
made to the  
King.**

The ministers of Edinburgh, offended at the indulgence shewn the jesuits, collected a number of nobles, barons, and commissioners of burghs, and, with this formidable array, proceeded to the palace of Holyroodhouse. The King, seeing so numerous and motley an embassy approach him, was chagrined, and sternly asked their advanced leaders if they meant to domineer over him, and oblige him by force to comply with the dictates of their illegal convention? He refused to admit any but a few of their principals. These represented, that the dangers of religion had caused them to assemble, in order to devise the readiest means of quenching the fire of papistry, which was spreading its flames throughout the country. The King promised to appoint six of his council to confer with them, and to adopt proper measures for checking the apprehended evil. In that conference, the zealots urged that Gordon and Creighton, jesuits, should be apprehended, and that their maintainers, of whatever rank, should be punished according to law. The Chancellor replied, that the King meant to act towards these noblemen with calmness and caution, and especially in regard to the Earl of Huntly, of whose conversion there were good hopes: that care

should be taken to send off the two jesuits, but that the King expected reparation of the offence committed by the preacher James Gibson. That snarling pulpiteer, after much proud subterfuge, fled to England, to avoid the humiliation of acknowledging his delinquency. In England, during his abode there, he joined his factious puritanical brethren, who were labouring to bring into that church what they termed the *holy discipline*.\*

A. C. 1588.

Preacher  
Gibson absconds.

The ministers complained to the King, that Lord Herries had erected the mass at Dumfries, and driven the ministers from the town. That nobleman came to court, offering himself to trial; but the charges were found not proved, and he was remitted to his charge of warden of the west marches.

Lord Herries  
acquitted.

Lord Maxwell, who had remained some months in Spain, where he saw preparations making for invading England, returned home without licence; and some adventurers resorting to him in hopes of employment, Maxwell was summoned before the council: but he, instead of obeying the order, began to levy some troops, and to put his castles in a state of defence. The King, enraged at his boldness, hastened to Dumfries. Maxwell fled. James summoned the castles of Treve, Carlaverock, Langholm, and Lochmaben, to surrender: they all obeyed, except Lochmaben, which, however, was compelled to yield, and its captain, David Maxwell, was hanged for his obstinacy. Maxwell was pursued, taken and warded in Edinburgh.† About this time, Sir Roland York, and Sir William Stanley, deserted

Lord Maxwell  
imprisoned.

\* Spottiswood, p. 368.

† Ibid. p. 369.



A. C 1588.



the English army in Holland, refusing to fight in the cause of rebels against their sovereign, and because Elizabeth herself, they said, was the murderess of the lawful heir of England. They went over to Philip's service with thirteen hundred men.\*

Preparations  
to invade  
England.

Philip had long borne in silence the repeated injuries of the Queen of England. She had intercepted his treasure, and had assisted his rebels: she had allowed her seamen to plunder and massacre his subjects on the high seas, and in his foreign dominions: she had sent an army against him to Belgium, and her general had even assumed the title and authority of governor of his revolted provinces: she had insulted the majesty of sovereigns by the unprecedented trial and the unjust and ignominious execution of the Queen of Scotland upon a scaffold. He was called upon, by honour and justice, to revenge such flagrant aggressions and such wanton cruelty. For five years he had been preparing, in Spain and in the Netherlands, the means of chastising such indignities, and now he had in the Spanish harbours a fleet of a hundred and thirty-five sail of ships of war, carrying eight thousand seaman, and nineteen thousand soldiers. The Duke of Parma had a disposable force in the Low Countries, of thirty thousand infantry, and eighteen hundred cavalry, ready to join the Spanish armament; all which was now to be employed in the invasion of England. Philip was sensible that an alliance with Scotland was of great importance to

\* Camden, p. 552

facilitate his enterprise. A Spanish party had already been formed among the Scotch, and the Spanish monarch courted the co-operation of the King of Scotland. He excited him to revenge his mother's wrongs ; he flattered him with the hopes of sharing the advantage of his conquest, and, it is alleged, offered him in marriage his daughter, the Infanta Isabella.

A. C. 1588.

James court-  
ed by Spain  
and England.

Elizabeth was no less desirous to secure the friendship of James in her present situation. But James had not forgotten the atrocious injury of his mother's death : neither Walsingham's letter to the chancellor, nor Lord Hunsdon's apology, had thoroughly appeased him. He had parted with Hunsdon on doubtful terms : he subscribed, indeed, the covenant then entered into by the adherents of the new creed, in order to please his Protestant subjects ; yet he still kept aloof from joining either Spain or England. Elizabeth renewed her warmest professions of friendship to James. Her ambassador, Ashby, flattered him with magnificent hopes and promises. He assured him, in the name of his mistress, that his right of succession to the crown should be publicly acknowledged in England ; that he should be created a duke in that kingdom, and receive an annual pension of five thousand pounds.

Meantime, the Spanish fleet sailed from the Tagus. Never had the ocean borne a more splendid burden ; never were more flattering anticipations of conquest and glory excited in the breasts of warriors, than those which beat in the bosoms of the warlike and well-disciplined Spaniards. But

The Armada  
sails, May 19.

A. C. 1588.

Assailed by  
a storm.

the palm is not always for the swift, nor victory for the strong: Providence had decreed to save England, by the violence of storms, and the intrepidity and skill of a navy far inferior in force and number. In two days, the high expectations of the Spaniards were damped. Off Cape Finisterre, the most western point of Spain, a storm arose, which dispersed the Armada along the shores of Galicia; three galleys ran aground on the French coast, and all the ships were damaged: three weeks were spent in collecting and repairing the fleet in the harbour of Corunna.

July 19.

Followed by  
the English  
fleet, 27th  
July.

Lord Howard, the English admiral, put to sea with the intention of discovering the situation and strength of the Spanish fleet. He was driven back to Plymouth by a south-west gale, which wafted the enemy in the same direction; and the English espied, for the first time, the formidable Armada off the Lizard Point. It was now the time for the Duke of Medina to bear down on the English fleet; but his orders were not to engage till he had seen the Netherland army landed on the English shore. He bore away for the English Channel. The English admiral hung on his rear, and captured some ships which had fallen astern, or were separated from the Armada ere it anchored before Calais.

Disconcerted  
by fire-ships.

On the night before it was expected that the Duke of Parma was to attempt the invasion, for which every thing was ready, a stratagem, contrived by the English, totally disconcerted the plan and force of the Spaniards. The night was cloudy, and the wind boisterous. when, all on a sudden, a gleam of light illumed the swelling sea, and eight

vessels, all in flames, and darting burning pitch and brimstone, came driving onward with mischievous speed, and threatening instant destruction to the whole armament. A shout of horror and terror, louder than the tempest, arose from the Spaniards; they instantly cut their cables, and ran out to sea. Next day, with only forty sail, they bravely bore the attack of the English. The storm increased with the falling night; the galleons were tossed and scattered on the shore of Flanders, from the Scheldt to Calais, and two were lost. The only prospect of saving something of the remnant of their once majestic navy, was to sail round the north of Scotland and Ireland, although that voyage was replete with danger.\*

A. C. 1588.

Defeated by storm and battle.

July 31.

Till then, James had remained in suspense; when the Spaniards, defeated by storms and enemies, were fleeing along the Scottish shores, it was time for him to forbid his subjects to aid Elizabeth's enemies, and to offer her the whole force of his kingdom.†

James accedes to Elizabeth's offers.

Philip bore the discomfiture of his Armada with great composure. "I thank God," said he, "who has given me so many resources, that I can bear

Philip is not dismayed.

\* Spottiswood, p. 371.

† James's hesitation is evident, from the dates. In April, Hunsdon was sent to appease him for his mother's death; in June, Ashby was despatched to make him offers; in July, Sir Robert Sidney went on a similar errand; on the 27th July, Walsingham wrote to Douglas, the Scottish envoy, to give a similar advice to his master; in Autumn, Lord Hundson wrote to the Queen, that if she looked for any amity or kindness at James's hands, she would find herself deceived; Mindin, p. 591. On the 4th of August, James accepted the proposal of Ashby of a dukedom, annuity, and pay for a guard of one hundred and fifty men, which were never given; Mindin, p. 788; Strype, vol. iii. p. 415, apud Lingard.

A. C. 1588.



“ without inconvenience so heavy a loss. One  
 “ branch has been lopt off; but the tree is still  
 “ flourishing, and able to supply its place.”

Elizabeth's  
 ingratitude to  
 the Catholics.

The conduct of Elizabeth to her Catholic subjects on this occasion, was cruel and ungrateful in the extreme. The real number of the English Catholics at that time could not easily be ascertained, because the severe penal laws had caused many to conceal their religion; but it was conjectured that they amounted to the half of the population: some supposed them about two-thirds. Though crowds of Catholics of both sexes were daily dragged to the common jails; though the clergy declaimed with vehemence against the tyranny of the Pope, and the treachery of the Papists; yet no provocation could drive them to any act of imprudence or disloyalty. They vied in patriotism with their more favoured countrymen. The peers armed their tenantry and vassals in the service of the Queen; gentlemen equipped vessels, and gave the command to Protestants; and many solicited permission to fight in the ranks as privates against the common enemy. In requital for all this loyalty, when the danger was past, Elizabeth celebrated her triumph with the immolation of Catholic victims. Within the three next months, six clergymen, for their priestly character; four laymen, for being reconciled to the catholic faith; three others, with a gentlewoman, for having aided or harboured priests;\* together with fifteen of their companions, suffered the death of traitors, without the

\* Stow, p. 746, 749, 750; apud Lingard, vol. viii. p. 331, 332.

least charge of disloyalty : their crime was simply the profession and practice of their religion.

The Duke of Parma, by letters, consoled the Catholic party in Scotland on account of the failure of the Armada ; and one John Chisholm brought for their relief the sum of ten thousand crowns. Huntly got no share thereof, because he had subscribed the new creed. He endeavoured soon after to apologise for this act to the Duke of Parma, alleging that he was so pressed by the King, that it became necessary either to subscribe or leave the country ; but hoped to make amends by his future service in the good cause. The Lords Crawford, Errol, and Maxwell, also wrote to his Grace, begging him to assure his Catholic Majesty of their attachment to the Spanish interest. These were joined also by Francis Stuart, Earl of Bothwell. The jesuits were also active, but they had come too late : they might have been of more service at the beginning of the reformation, by instructing the people, and counteracting Knox and his party. The disturbing the country at this time is more liable to blame ; although the frantic intolerance and persecution of the new ministers afford an excuse for endeavouring to procure toleration for the profession of the ancient religion.

The Catholic Lords, pretending that the King was abused, and forced by the chancellor Maitland to use his nobility more rigorously than he wished, raised an army, under pretence of setting the King at liberty. The King followed them with a smaller force to Aberdeen. Huntly declined the combat, being unwilling to risk the King's person. The

A. C. 1588

Correspondence of the Duke of Parma with the Catholic Lords.

1589.

The Catholic Lords were guarded ;

A. C. 1589.



King returned to Edinburgh, and the Catholic lords were summoned before a criminal court. The three principal earls appeared. Many were the charges brought against them, some of which they confessed, and denied others. The sentence, upon the King's warrant, was suspended, and the lords committed to different wards: Bothwell\* in Tantallan, Crawford in Blackness, and Huntly in the Castle of Edinburgh.†

In June following, a clerical assembly was held in Edinburgh; the King assisted. In the beginning, matters went on smoothly, but clouds soon darkened the early sunshine. The King, in the preceding year, had contracted his cousin, sister of the Duke of Lennox, to the Earl of Huntly, and had caused the titular Bishop of St. Andrews to perform the marriage ceremony. The ministers of Edinburgh, offended at this pretended intrusion upon their ecclesiastical faculties, had complained to the General Assembly, and had obtained a commission to the Presbytery of Edinburgh to summon and censure the bishop, according to the acts of the church. The bishop, either disclaiming their jurisdiction, or trusting to the King's command as sufficient vindication of his conduct, neglected their proceedings. The opponent presbyters suspended the bishop from all his ecclesiastical functions, and their sentence was ratified by the Assembly, and published in all the churches of the kingdom. The

\* Francis Stewart, grandson of James V. by John of Coldingham, was created Earl of Bothwell by his cousin James VI. He was sickle, and joined divers parties according to his caprice.

† Spottiswood, p. 376.

King, for special reasons, being unwilling to ruffle the tranquillity of his realm at this juncture, overlooked the affront for the present; but that he might not have two opposite parties against him at once, he set at liberty the Catholic lords from their imprisonment.

A. C. 1588

They are  
berated.

Elizabeth had written to James a severe letter, reproaching him with remissness in punishing the Catholic lords, and urging him to exemplary severity. But James had reason to fear the hostility of the Catholics, both at home and abroad. The zeal of the Roman Pontiff; the ambition of Philip; the Catholics being a powerful and active party in England, and forming no inconsiderable faction in Scotland, the opposition of such a formidable body to his ascending the English throne, added to the aversion of the English to be governed by strangers, might create him great difficulties.\* By all these, James was charged with pusillanimity for not revenging the murder of his mother; with apostacy in having abandoned the faith of his fathers, and having embraced the reformed doctrine. Besides, Elizabeth had not fulfilled any of the promises made to him in her name by her ambassador Ashby: she refused to admit his right to the succession; she had excluded him from the inheritance of his father in England: she had interfered in the concerns of his kingdom, and had given support to his rebels. He knew that the Catholic lords, through the jesuits, Gordon, Tyrie, and Creighton, had treated with the Pope, and with the Spanish court; but

Elizabeth  
urges seve-  
rity.

Reasons for  
James's le-  
nity to the  
Catholic  
Lords.

\* Robertson, vol. iii. p. 90.



A. C. 1582.



he knew that their object was, with the aid of Philip, to revenge the execution of their Queen, and to obtain, if not the re-establishment, at least the toleration of the Catholic worship in Scotland; yet so that the liberties and independence of the realm should be maintained, and that no ecclesiastical censure should be issued against James, to invalidate his right to the English crown. If we may believe the assertion of the Catholic earls, they acted sometimes with his permission, and often with his connivance. James, therefore, though obliged to pay some deference to the solicitations of Elizabeth, and more to the remonstrances and complaints of his turbulent clergy, yet was unwilling altogether to destroy a party, which, while it existed, preserved him from falling under the absolute controul of the English Queen and of her party in the kirk and state.\*

James's marriage.

James being the rectilineal descendant of the Scottish Kings, and having a prospect of succeeding to a greater kingdom, his marriage was much wished for, both by his own subjects, and by his friends in the sister kingdom; nor was he less desirous himself to perpetuate the succession. He had bent his choice towards Denmark, and sent agents to make proposals to Frederick for his eldest daughter. But Elizabeth, by a caprice similar to that by which she had striven to thwart the marriage of the mother, endeavoured to obstruct that of the son; and for that purpose had recourse to her usual policy of bribing his ministers. But

\* Cambden, p. 656-669. Winwood. Rymer, apud Lingard, vol. vii. p. 418, &c.

these were so extravagant, and so whimsical in the conditions which they demanded, that Frederick thought they were playing the fool, and married his daughter to the Duke of Brunswick. James, however, resolving to lay closer siege in his next attack, sent the Earl-Marischal to secure Frederick's second daughter, Anne, and was successful in his suit. Unfortunately, the royal bride was, by a tempest, driven into Norway. The King, when he heard of the unlucky accident, fitted out a few ships, and with great gallantry and secrecy, taking along with him the chancellor, a few gentlemen, and a moderate retinue, braved the stormy ocean in quest of his bride, whom he found in Upslo, a small town in Norway. There the marriage was solemnized; and as the weather was yet boisterous, James and his Queen repaired to Copenhagen, and spent some months in glee and festivity. On the first of May they arrived at Leith, and, in the absence of bishops, after much controversial wrangling, and many wry faces, Mr. Robert Bruce, a presbyterian minister, performed the unction of the Queen, with all the accustomed popish ceremonies.

Archbishop Adamson having fallen under the King's displeasure, and being, by the act of annexation, shorn of his stinted salary, bending under age, poverty, and disease, formally recanted all his episcopal notions, and submitted in the meanest manner to the levelling clergy. Soon after,\* James, to recover favour with that annoying order of men, permitted the Parliament to establish the Presby-

A. C. 158

May 1.

1590.

Adamson's  
recantationPresbyterian  
government  
established  
by law.

\* Spottiswood, p. 385. Calderwood, vol. iv. p. 214.

A. C. 1590.

Immorality  
prevails.

terian polity, with all its Genevan discipline of assemblies, synods, presbyteries, and kirk-sessions.

The new religion had not mended the morals of the nobility, nor of the people. Scotland was filled with deadly quarrels among the nobles, and with rapine, murders, and assassinations; an universal anarchy and licence prevailed throughout the kingdom.\*

1591.

Bothwell  
accused of  
consulting  
witches ;

The courts of justice were employed in searching out and punishing imaginary witchcraft. One of these unhappy victims accused Bothwell of having consulted her, in order to know when the King should die, and what should happen after his death; and that, at Bothwell's desire, she had prevailed upon her familiar spirit to make away with the King; but that, though the imp had failed in his project, he had probably excited the storms which had endangered the lives of both the King and the Queen. Such was the credit given to the ridiculous testimony of Agnes Samson, that Bothwell was committed to prison. He soon effected his escape; and attributing his accusation to the malice of his enemy the chancellor, under pretence of driving that statesman from his office, he different times attempted to seize the King himself; and about two years afterwards, assisted by a court party, he succeeded in surprising him, and in extorting a pardon for all his offences, together with a promise of the ratification of that pardon in Parliament, and of the dismissal of the chancellor, and some other members of the council.†

his attempts  
to seize the  
King.

\* Spottiswood, p. 382. Robertson, vol. iii. p. 96.

† Spottiswood, p. 393.

The Earl of Murray being suspected of countenancing and favouring Bothwell, Huntly, who was at enmity with Murray, obtained a commission to bring that Earl to a trial; and learning that he then was at Dunybarsill, belonging to Lady Down, his mother, he assembled a party of his followers, and surrounded and set fire to the house. Murray was expelled from his lodgings by smoke and flames, and hoped under the shades of night to escape; but being discovered by the crest of his helmet, which had taken fire before he left the house, he was precipitately slain by his pursuers. As Huntly himself was at some distance, his retainers, fearing that he would disavow the slaughter, (for he intended to take him alive), caused him to alight from his horse, and strike some blows upon the dead corpse. The Sheriff of Murray, who accompanied Huntly, was killed by a shot from the house; and Captain Gordon, the Earl's cousin, was found wounded on the field, carried to Edinburgh, and publicly executed. The clamours of the people rose high against the Chancellor; and even the King was so insulted that he deemed it prudent to withdraw to Glasgow, where Huntly surrendered himself for trial. But the King, probably not thinking Huntly much in the fault, and deeming the slaughter of Murray sufficiently atoned by the deaths of the Sheriff and of Captain Gordon, dropt any farther prosecution.\*

A quarrel of jurisdiction broke out between the clergy and the Lords of Session. A furious schism

A. C. 159

Earl of Murray killed.

Quarrel and schism.

\* Spottiswood, p. 387.

A. C. 1592.

also arose among the members of the presbytery of St. Andrews, about choosing a minister for the parish of Leuchars. This violent dissension in the infant church was thought ominous, and gave occasion to a prognostication, “ That a government “ which in its commencement burst out in schisms, “ could not long continue.” It was added, that, “ of all men, none more loved command, or could “ worse brook parity, than those who introduced “ it.”\*

Conspiracy  
of the Ca-  
tholic Lords  
detected.

Mr. George Ker, brother to Lord Newbottle, was, by order of Mr. Andrew Knox, minister of Paisley, arrested in the isle of Cumbray, at the mouth of the Clyde, whence he was ready to sail for Spain. In his custody were found several letters, and some blanks signed by the Earls of Angus, Huntly, and Errol. He was delivered to the Provost of Edinburgh, the King being absent. The ministers of Edinburgh, without waiting a warrant from the King, or receiving any legal commission, assembled a number of peers and barons, seized the Earl of Angus on his return from a commission of lieutenancy in the north, and sent him prisoner to the Castle. They proceeded to examine Ker, who, from fear of torture, confessed that he was employed, by the noblemen whose names were affixed to the blanks, to carry on a negotiation with the King of Spain ; that the blanks were to be filled up by Creighton and Tyrie, who were then in Spain ; that the service of the earls was to be offered to Philip, who was to be solicited

\* Spottiswood, p. 386.

to land forces in Galloway, or at the mouth of the Clyde, which, with the assistance of the Catholics in Scotland, should either re-establish the Catholic religion in that realm, or at least obtain its free exercise, and next to invade England.

A. C. 1593.

The ministers of Edinburgh also thought proper to invite their brethren to come to the capital, and tender their advice in the present danger of church and state. A remonstrance was drawn up, and commissioners appointed to wait on the King, and to urge the necessity of prosecuting the conspirators with vigour, and executing the laws against jesuits, and their harbourers, with the utmost rigour.

1593.

James, who was jealous of his prerogative, and justly deemed these proceedings an encroachment upon it, resented their presumption, and especially their boldness in committing to prison a nobleman who had just been employed in the public service ; yet, in the present ferment, thought it prudent to listen to their desire, though it was presented more like a prescription than a petition. He summoned Huntly and Errol to surrender themselves to justice. Graham of Fintry, who had been apprehended on a suspicion of his being in the plot, was, after a trial such as the times afforded, publicly beheaded in a street of Edinburgh. The King, at the head of an army, marched to the north. The Earl of Angus escaped from prison, joined Huntly and Errol, and all three betook themselves to the mountains, leaving their ladies to entertain his Majesty and his suite. James accosted the ladies with great courtesy, and told them, that if their

Illegal proceedings.

February 1

The houses of the Lords seized.

A. C. 1593.

A message  
from Eliza-  
beth.

husbands would submit to trial, they should suffer no wrong ; otherwise, the crime laid to their charge was such, that he could not stop the course of justice. In the meantime, he appointed the Earls of Athole and Marischal lieutenants, to preserve the peace in those parts of the kingdom ; and returned to Edinburgh, where he found Lord Burrough arrived, as an extraordinary ambassador from Elizabeth, to urge the rigorous punishment of the incorrigible traitors ; and if he could not lay hold of their persons, he ought at least to confiscate their estates. But Burrough destroyed the effect of his embassy, by interceding in behalf of Bothwell, whom the King very justly refused to pardon, but whom Elizabeth wished to protect, in order to maintain a faction among the Scottish nobles. Bothwell had refused the reasonable terms offered him, and certainly deserved no favour.

Shameful act  
of Parlia-  
ment ;

A Parliament was convoked, in order to pass an act of attainder against the three earls ; but before it assembled, Ker made his escape from prison, and, for want of legal evidence, the prosecution was dropped, to the great disappointment of Elizabeth, and of the ministers, to please whom, a most unjust and foolish enactment was made, that such as contemned the censures of the church should be declared outlaws.

overstretched,  
September 25.

Not content with an act which gave poignancy to the shafts of their fury, which formerly fell harmless and unheeded upon the objects of their wrath, the preachers, in the delirium of their zeal, began to hurl their thunder without a shadow of jurisdiction. The synod of Fife, though none of

the conspirators resided within their boundaries, launched the sentence of excommunication against the whole ; and, doubting of its effect, sent deputies to attend the adjacent synods, and to court their approbation and concurrence.\*

A. C. 155

The ministers of Edinburgh, influenced by some wild fancy, wished to suppress the Monday market, and the Town-council passed an act in compliance with their humour ; but the shoemakers, who were much interested in its preservation, assembled in a tumultuous manner at the preachers' houses, and threatened to chase them from the town, if they persisted in that impertinent demand. The market continued ; and the courtiers laughed at the clerical defeat, saying, that " rascalls and sowtars " could keep the ministers at bay better than the " King could."†

Monday market.

On the 17th of October, while the King was marching on an expedition against the borderers, the three earls, Angus, Huntly, and Errol, presented themselves before him, humbly requesting a legal trial, at what place and time his Majesty should please to appoint. James, with advice of several of his council, who were with him, enjoined them to enter their persons in the town of Perth, on the 24th of that month, and abide there till order was taken for their trial, which they were thankfully preparing to do ; but instantly, the ministers, taking fire, assembled some barons and burgesses at Edinburgh, and remonstrated with great boldness against the King, demanding that

The Lords submit to the King, and ask a trial, October 17.

Petition of the Kirk.

\* Spottiswood, p. 396.

† Ibid. p. 394.



A. C. 1593.

those persons, charged with the highest acts of treason, should be committed to sure custody ; and also insisting that they could not be brought to a legal trial until they were absolved from the censures of the church. Moreover, their jury ought to be nominated by the party accusing, *who are all the whole professors of the gospel*. Finally, they required that a convention of the estates should be called to deliberate concerning the manner of their trial. The King, much displeased, both with the convention itself and the address that they sent, yet gratified them by delaying the trial of the earls, and by calling a convention of estates, which was held at Linlithgow on the twenty-sixth of November.\* The convention empowered a committee of their number to receive proposals from the accused lords, and to pronounce a final sentence in their regard. The award of the committee was, “ That “ the three earls and their associates should be ex- “ empted from all further inquiry or prosecution. “ on account of their correspondence with Spain : “ that, before the first day of February, they should “ either submit to the church, and publicly re- “ nounce the errors of Popery, or remove out of “ the kingdom, to such places beyond sea as his “ Majesty shall appoint, yet so that they and their “ heirs should enjoy their lands and livings ; that “ before the first of January, they should declare “ which of these alternatives they would embrace : “ that if they failed to signify their choice in due “ time, they should lose the benefit of this act of

Sentence of  
the Conven-  
tion.

\* Rymer, vol. xvi p. 219.

“*abolition*, and remain exposed to the pains of  
“law.”\* A. C. 1594.

The sentence pronounced on the Catholic lords, though it had an appearance of lenity, was in the main both rigorous and unjust. There was a just medium between the alternatives, namely, that they should desist from all correspondence with foreign powers, and live quietly upon their estates; but not to be obliged to swear to the belief of a creed which, in their conscience, they held to be false, and to renounce the faith of their ancestors, which they were fully convinced was the truth. No wonder, then, that these noblemen should neglect to signify, at the time appointed, their choice of alternatives, both of which seemed to them absurd and unjust. Yet the act of *abolition*, as it was called, seemed to the ministers, and those who joined in their faction, much too indulgent, and they lost no time, when the *day of grace* had expired, in stimulating the King to punish the contempt of his bounty. Wherefore, on the 18th of January, a Convention of Estates was held at Holyroodhouse, and an order emitted for the Catholic Lords to enter their persons into ward till trial was taken of all the accusations laid against them.† Their disobedience is no matter of wonder. In the meantime, Elizabeth sent Lord Zouche to represent to James, once more, the danger of his false moderation, and to instigate him to the utmost rigour against the Popish delinquents. Zouche having learned the decree of the late convention, was so

The Catholic Lords despise the terms offered them.

\* Spottiswood, p. 400.

† Ibid. p. 401.

A. C. 1594.



Elizabeth  
afflicted by  
the reconcilia-  
tion of  
Henry IV.  
to the Catho-  
lic faith.

far pleased, but insisted upon having the sentence of forfeiture pronounced against them.\*

It is probable that the zeal of Protestants in general, and of Elizabeth in particular, with regard to their religion, and the jealousies of desertion from it, or plots against it, were much sharpened by the reconciliation of Henry IV. of France to the Church of Rome, which happened in the preceding summer.† This event gave great grief and vexation to Elizabeth. When she learned that Henry had assisted at several conferences between the Catholic prelates and the reformed divines, and had announced his intention of conforming to the ancient worship, she forwarded to him an elaborate remonstrance, composed by her prime minister Burleigh, shewing the disgrace and danger of such a step, and added also a letter from her own hand: but before these salutary warnings had reached the King, the ceremony of abjuration had taken place. At first she stormed, and charged Henry with perfidy and duplicity; then sank into great depression of spirits, and sought consolation in the study of theology. She listened to the controversial instructions of the Archbishop of Canterbury, read assiduously the Scriptures, and turned over the volumes of the Fathers. Whatever relief she experienced in her gloom, or confirmation in her faith, from this profound research, she ceased reproaching Henry for his apostacy, and secured his friendship by a political league, defensive and offensive, against the King of Spain.

\* Spottiswood's, p. 402.

† Redpath, p. 682.

‡ Can. Len. p. 661, &c.

Elizabeth's ambassador, by his base intrigues, weakened the effect of his sovereign's remonstrance to James. Zouche tampered, and kept intelligence with Bothwell, who, like other hypocrites, covered his ambitious projects with the veil of zeal for the Protestant worship, and was drawing numbers to follow him. He had conspired, with the Earls of Argyle and Athole, to meet at Leith, under pretence of banishing the Catholic lords, and of revenging the slaughter of the Earl of Murray. Bothwell had so far insinuated himself into the credit and favour of some of the clergy, that they both secretly, and in their public sermons, encouraged people to join this traitor and his party; nay, they even sent one of their number, Mr. Andrew Hunter, to be his preacher and chaplain. What was no less characteristic of the giddiness of these fanatical preachers, the money that had been collected in the churches for the supply of the mother church of Geneva, and was deposited in the hands of Mr. James Melville, minister of Anstruther, was given to two of Bothwell's captains to raise soldiers to assist that rebel.\* With all these Zouche kept intelligence, and encouraged Bothwell to take up arms against his sovereign. James having procured certain information of the disgraceful conduct of this ambassador, after a sharp reproach, dismissed him without further farewell.

Bothwell, following the advice of his minister Zouche, soon appeared near Edinburgh at the head of four hundred horse. The King, by an edict to a

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Base conduct  
of Elizabeth  
ambassador

Bothwell's  
credit with  
the preachers

\* Spenser, p. 402.

A. C. 1594.

  
Failure of  
his projects.

sermon in a church of Edinburgh, in which he promised to prosecute with vigour the Catholic lords, soon raised a formidable number. Lord Hume was driven back by Bothwell's superior force, but, in the pursuit, Bothwell falling from his horse, and being severely bruised, retired to Dalkeith. He was soon abandoned by his Highland earls with their clans, and by the Fife captains with their religious soldiers. The remonstrance of the King with Elizabeth upon the disgraceful conduct of her ambassador, and of her encouragement to Bothwell, drove that disturber of the peace from his lurking holes in England. His readiness to join the Catholic lords, when neglected by the opposite party, shewed how little he had the Protestant interest at heart, while the lords received little assistance, and less honour, from his accession.

But, although Elizabeth urged James to prosecute and banish the Catholic lords, her parsimony would not allow her to part with any money to assist him. She was afraid that he and his hungry courtiers would swallow it up, instead of applying it to the end for which she intended it. But when it was suspected that the King of Spain had sent a pecuniary supply to the Catholic lords, the Scottish preachers took the alarm. The misemploying the money, that had been wheedled from the people to assist their Genevan brethren, in raising an army of rebels against their lawful King, was overlooked; but the rumour of a small subsidy sent to supply the necessities of noblemen persecuted for conscience' sake, was enough to set the ministry agog, and make them sound the tocsin, as if the

enemy were already at their doors. The Assembly unanimously ratified the sentence of excommunication pronounced by the Synod of Fife, and sent a deputation to the King, who was then at Stirling, to represent the impending dangers of his Majesty's person, the crown, the church, and liberty of the kingdom ; and requesting, that in the ensuing parliament, no one suspected of popery should be numbered among the Lords of the Articles ; that, after sentence of forfeiture should have been pronounced against the Catholic lords, their persons should be pursued with all diligence and rigour, and their lands and rents annexed to the crown ; that the subjects should be charged to put themselves under arms, and be in readiness upon urgent occasion for their service. The King, displeased with the Catholic lords, and desirous of courting popularity with the clergy and the people, gave a favourable answer to the deputies ; but objected against any subjects arming themselves without his special warrant. He also despatched Sir Robert Melvil, and Alexander Hume, to the Assembly, demanding that due censure should be inflicted on preacher John Ross, who, in a sermon preached before the Synod of Perth, had uttered treasonable and virulent invectives against his Majesty ; and that Mr. Andrew Hunter should be excommunicated, for scandalously and treasonably turning his function against a Protestant King, his natural sovereign. The Assembly mildly admonished Mr. Ross, in time coming, to speak reverently and discreetly of his Majesty. Chaplain Hunter was suspended for deserting his flock, and for being *suspected* of having

A. C. 160

The Clergy  
urge the  
King to se-  
verity.

C. 1594.



the Lords  
feited.

nal sta-  
ca.

James dele-  
gates his au-  
thority to  
Argyle.

joined with the King's rebels ; but no excommuni-  
cation was fulminated.\*

The Parliament had been indicted for the 27th of May. The members, disliking the business, convened slowly, and many excuses were sent. At length, there assembled in the Parliament House three earls and six lords : these urged a delay of the trial of the lords ; but the King ordered them to proceed. By a plurality of voices, the three earls were declared guilty of high treason, and their honours and estates forfeited, and statutes, more rigorous than ever, enacted against all the professors of the Catholic religion. But it was easier for the King to get the law of forfeiture enacted, than to put it in execution. The united strength of three powerful noblemen, possessing an immense tract of country, a great part of which was of difficult access ; having at their command a vast number of vassals, many of whom were trained to war ; and having the countenance and good-will of a foreign prince, the richest in Europe, presented an appalling aspect : it behoved James to sit down and calculate whether he had force and finances sufficient to encounter and subdue such a formidable coalition. No persuasion could induce Elizabeth to open her treasure, and defray the expenses of an expedition which she so eagerly inculcated. Thus circumstanced, James bethought himself of turning the enmity of opposite chieftains to his own advantage. He therefore delegated his authority to the Earl of Argyle and Lord Forbes, leaders of

\* Spotswood, p. 403-404.

mighty clans, who, like their master, from harboured hatred, or prospect of gain, would gladly, he thought, extirpate the Catholic lords and their dependants, and ravage their lands. For their encouragement, Mr. Robert Bruce and Mr. James Balfour were sent to the Earl of Argyle, to stimulate him to the undertaking, by hopes of reward from the Queen of England, and of having at his disposal the lands of the expelled or slain noblemen.

Argyle, a young man of eighteen, solicited by the King and excited by the clergy, took the field at the head of his Campbells, and was joined by the Lairds of Tullibardine, Grant, M'Lean, M'Intosh, Clangregory, and M'Neil of Barra, with their followers, amounting in all to upwards of ten thousand men. Huntly and Errol, though their warning only allowed them time to raise a small number in comparison of their adversaries, were determined to meet them, with a few well-equipped and well-mounted troops. The armies met near Glenlivat, in the vicinity of a burn or brook called *Altnaholichan*, or the brook of hollies, and encountered each other with all the fury and hereditary rancour of rival clans. M'Lean led the van of the Argyle army. Argyle himself occupied the declivity of a mossy hill. Huntly advanced, with a train of well-served field-pieces before him, which played on the foe with tremendous noise and effect. The Highlanders were greatly disconcerted by the cannon, to which they were not accustomed. Errol, with a company of gentlemen cavalry, pressed upon them with irresistible force. For

A.C. 1594



Battle of  
Altnaholichan,  
Thursday,  
October 3.



A. C. 1594.



two hours the battle raged with unremitting ardour : at length the Argyle men gave way. MacLean, with a few islanders, fought after the others were routed, and retreated in good order. Huntly pursued the fleeing foe downhill to *Altnahochan*, where his horse was killed under him ; and before he could be again mounted, the enemy had gained a height where no horseman could follow. Young Argyle, weeping with indignation, strove, but in vain, to rally his troops, who fled in all directions.

James receiving at Dundee the intelligence of Argyle's defeat, hastened to the north, and was joined by the clans at enmity with Huntly and Errol. These lords having had several of their followers killed or wounded in the late battle, and being unwilling to attack the King in person, against whom they entertained no resentment, retired to Sutherland. James caused the Castles of Strathbogie, Slains, and Newton, to be demolished, and left the Duke of Lennox, his lieutenant, with sufficient force to maintain peace in that part of the kingdom, and to hinder the earls from collecting their followers to any dangerous amount. Huntly and Errol, weary of absconding, offered to leave the kingdom, and to find security that they should not return without the King's permission, nor during their absence practise against church or state. These conditions being accepted, these two earls went to France. A grant was made by the King to the Duke of Lennox, of the forfeited estates of Huntly and Errol. The Duke (as probably had been intended by the King), allowed the

Huntly and  
Errol leave  
the kingdom.

Countess of Huntly, his sister, as also the Countess of Errol, to receive the rents formerly paid to their husbands. Angus lived incognito in his own country, and his chamberlains were allowed to receive his rents.\*

A. C. 159

Bothwell, abandoned by Elizabeth, excommunicated by his old friends the Scottish clergy, and deserted by his followers, fled to France, thence to Spain and Italy, where he abjured the presbyterian creed, and spent the remainder of his life in poverty and obscurity. His forfeited estate was divided: Buccleugh got the lordship of Creighton; Cessford, the abbey of Kelso; and Lord Home, who had conformed to the new faith, got the abbey of Coldingham.

Bothwell d  
in exile.Division of  
his estates.

In the end of August, the King's first son, born on the 19th of February, was baptized at Stirling, by Mr. David Cunningham, nominal bishop of Aberdeen. All the foreign friendly Sovereigns, except the King of France, sent ambassadors to assist at the ceremony. The names and titles of the young Prince were proclaimed by the Lyon herald, *Henry Frederick, Knight and Baron of Renfrew, Lord of the Isles, Earl of Carrick, Duke of Rothsay, Prince and Steward of Scotland.*

Baptism of  
the Prince.

The Queen of Scotland, having caught the epidemic *influenza* of the times, formed a *plot*, with the concurrence of the Chancellor, Glamis, Cessford, and Buccleuch, for taking her son out of the hands of his tutor, the Earl of Mar. The King discovered the project, and took effectual mea-

\* Spottiswood, p. 409. Redpath, p. 686.

. C. 1594.  
 Chancellor's  
 path.

tures to defeat it. The severe reprimand which the Chancellor Maitland Lord Thirlstane received from the King on that occasion, is said to have thrown him into a sickness, of which he died. The King wrote his epitaph.

1595.

the Octa-  
 ans.

The collecting and managing the public revenue constitutes a principal part of the government in every state. The treasury of Scotland, at this time, had great need of economy ; but James was no economist, and his Queen was expensive. The important trust, therefore, of presiding over, and even appointing, the collectors of taxes and of all emoluments pertaining to the crown, and of husbanding the proceeds carefully, was committed to eight gentlemen, all senators of the college of justice, who, from their number, were called *Octarians*. These were vested with ample and almost unlimited powers. They were to *audit* the accounts of the treasurer and his deputies ; to examine the warden of the coin, the sheriffs, and other judges ; to correct and punish delinquencies ; and to impose fines and penalties for offences. No pension or order on the treasury was to be held valid, unless ratified by the signature of five of these commissioners. The King bound himself neither to add to their number, nor to supply any vacancy without their concurrence. In short, the whole of the executive government, except the declaring of war or making peace, was placed in their hands. Such extensive jurisdiction, together with the disposal of money and of offices, was sure to excite discontentment and murmurs among displaced officers and court expectants. Some of the Octavians fell un-

der the tongue-lashes of the clergy, as being guilty, or suspected, of the worst of all crimes, namely, a leaning to the old religion. Yet, notwithstanding a powerful combination against them, the Octavians, by a steady and faithful discharge of their duty, and the order and economy with which they managed the finances, kept their charge for more than two years, to the advantage of the treasury, and the credit of the nation. At length, from the envy of others, and want of concord among themselves, they resigned their commission, and the administration of the revenue reverted to its former channel.\*

A. C. 159

James, by the banishment of the Catholic lords, and by the rigorous statutes which he had allowed to be enacted against all who professed the Catholic faith within his dominions, had won the confidence of his Protestant subjects ; but these same harsh measures had in equal proportion made him lose the favour of the Catholics, both in Britain and on the Continent. The English Catholics, disappointed in the hopes they had conceived of toleration, if James ascended the English throne, began to look out for another competitor, who, though he were a Protestant, might abhor the severities inflicted on them on account of religious belief. But there were British exiles in Spain, who formed a bolder scheme. Of that party, Cardinal Allen was the nominal, Persons, the jesuit, was the effective head ; their principal associates were Cresswell and Holt, jesuits, Sir Francis Englefield, Sir Francis

1596.

James loses  
the favour  
the Cathol

\* Spottiswood, p. 412.

A. C. 1596.

Project of  
the Spanish  
xiles.

Stanley, Owen, and Fitzherbert. The great object of this Spanish party was the restoration of the Catholic religion in England, under the protection of a Catholic sovereign, whom they, out of gratitude, were inclined to seek in the royal family of Spain. They were persuaded that Burleigh would support the claim of Arabella Stuart to be Elizabeth's successor. To defeat that supposed scheme, and to introduce a feasible claim in favour of Isabella, the daughter of Philip, they published a celebrated tract, entitled, "A Conference about the next Succession to the Crown of England, had in 1593," by Ri Doleman. This treatise, composed by different authors, was revised and edited by Persons. It enumerates the several persons who, by propinquity of blood, may advance pretensions to the English crown, after the death of the present queen; but in pretending to state with impartiality the arguments for the respective claims, it betrays a wish to prove the right of the Infanta, as the lineal representative of John of Gaunt, son of Edward III., to be preferable to that of the Scottish King. This tract excited much sensation. It flattered the pride of Philip; it irritated Elizabeth and her ministers, and considerably alarmed James.\*

Elizabeth had lately sent out against Spain a fleet of a hundred and fifty sail, carrying fourteen thousand men, which had taken or destroyed in the harbour of Cadiz thirteen ships of war, taken that city by storm, obtained the plunder, besides one hundred and twenty thousand crowns, as the ran-

\* Camden, p. 672.

som for the lives of the citizens. For some years past, Philip had appeared to slumber on waging war with England. The English thunder at Cadiz had aroused him, and he vowed to be revenged. The fleet from his Indian settlements had amply replenished his treasury; his subjects offered him abundant subsidies. He ordered the Adelantado of Castile to prepare a second Armada for the invasion of England; and from the new prospect opened to his ambition, he indulged a hope, that if the expedition proved successful, his daughter might mount the English throne.\*

The rumour of Philip's vast preparations created, both in England and Scotland, great dread of a new invasion. James took measures to put his kingdom in a proper posture of defence; but nothing could content the intemperate zeal of the clergy. As the King had connived at the ladies of the banished peers living at their houses, and enjoying the rents of the forfeited estates, suspicions of the King's sincerity began to revive. The assembly of the church could do no less than take into consideration the whole state of the kingdom; and though they had eliminated from their discipline all the fasts of the ancient church, they assumed authority to appoint a day of public fasting, and renew the covenant of adherence to the Protestant faith, and to defend it against all aggressors. They appointed deputies to wait on the King, and to lay before him the plan approved by their collected wisdom for the security of the kingdom, and

A. C. 1596

Philip represents the king sustained at Cadiz.

Intends a new Armada

Zeal of the Scottish Clergy.

\* Strype, vol. iv. p. 316; apud Lingard, vol. viii. p. 403.

A. C. 1596.



James re-  
fuses their  
petition.

the preservation of the Presbyterian worship. This plan urges, 1°. That the estates of the banished lords be appropriated as a fund for the maintenance of an army ; 2°. That the strictest precautions be taken that the turbulent lords may never return to their native country ; 3°. That all who are *suspected* of being their adherents, or of their religion, be pursued with the utmost rigour. But James did not relish this scheme of clerical wisdom. He dreaded the idea of a Catholic competitor for the English crown ; he knew that his late rigour towards the Catholic lords, and the new statutes against all his Catholic subjects, had greatly alienated from him the friendly sentiments of that powerful body ; that the exiled lords would be courted by Philip's emissaries ; and he dreaded that they might listen to their suggestions, or be driven by despair to turn against himself the enmity which they hitherto had only entertained against the new creed, and the intolerance of the ministers.

The Lords  
allowed to  
remain at  
home.

Instead, therefore, of the additional severities proposed by the assembly, James was inclined to mitigate the hardships which the lords were actually enduring. The noble exiles, having probably learned the relenting sentiments of the King, and being weary of wandering among strangers, far from their homes and families, ventured to return secretly into Scotland, and soon after conveyed a petition to his Majesty, begging leave to reside at their own houses, and offering to give security for their peaceable and dutiful demeanour. James called and consulted a convention of estates, and, by their advice, granted the petition.

The rumour of this lenity soon reached the vigilant ears of the 'guardians of religion. A committee, appointed by the last General Assembly, met at Edinburgh ; and, as if the whole weight of the kingdom had lain upon their shoulders, and the salvation of its inhabitants had depended upon their exertions, they hastened to exonerate themselves of their incumbent duty, and to administer the wholesome preservatives against the infection of Popery. They wrote circular letters to all the presbyteries in Scotland, warning them of the approaching danger ; they conjured them to stir up the people to the defence of their just rights ; they commanded them to publish in all their pulpits the act of excommunication of the lords, which was already sufficiently well known ; and enjoined them to hand over in a summary manner to his infernal majesty, with little ceremony, all who were suspected of favouring Popery. As the danger was too pressing to wait the meetings of clerical courts, they, upon their own authority, selected from the different quarters of the kingdom the ministers most eminent for presbyterian ascendancy, charging them to reside in Edinburgh, and daily convene with the ministers of that city, under the title of the *Standing Council of the Church* ; and vested in this self-constituted *conciliabulum* the supreme authority, in the imposing form of the ancient Romans, *Caveant ne quid detrimenti respublica aut ecclesia capiat* : to take care that Church and State should sustain no harm.\*

A. C. 155


 The Clergy  
alarmed.

 They form  
a Standing  
Council.

\* Spottiswood, p. 418, &c.



A. C. 1596.



Seditious  
murmurs ;

not deserved.

Obstinate  
reply.

These proceedings were manifest assumptions of the royal prerogative, and bold unblushing rebellion. The King had done nothing in favour of the Catholic lords, without the advice, consent, and approbation of a Convention of Estates, and the concessions he had made were dictated by the fear of incurring greater evils both for himself and the kingdom. Was it to be allowed to a handful of discontented low subjects, to seize the reins of government, and dictate to the king and nation ? Yet, insulted as the King was by so impudent a usurpation of his prerogative, he was unwilling to come to a rupture with men who had obtained such sway over the multitude. He had an interview with the more moderate of the ministers (if the term moderate could be then applied to any of the order), and inquired whether Huntly and his associates might not, upon making reasonable submission, be again received into the bosom of the Church, and, without further punishment, be restored to their estates and honours ? It was replied, that though the gate of mercy stood always open to such as returned with sincere repentance, yet, as these noblemen had been guilty of *idolatry*, a crime deserving death, both by the law of God and man, the civil magistrate could not legally grant them a pardon, until they had satisfied the Church ; and even if the Church should absolve them, they could not lawfully be restored to their honours and estates.\* If the King was galled by such inflexible tyranny of those who were deemed the most compliant of their

\* Robertson, vol. iii. b. viii. p. 126.

sect, his indignation was still more enkindled by the enthusiastic and impious rant, and proud obstinacy of a petulant preacher.

Mr. David Black, minister at St. Andrews, handling, in one of his sermons, the politics of the nation, as was customary, after having exhausted the ready store of raillery against Popery, informed his audience, *that the King had permitted the Popish lords to return to Scotland, and had thereby discovered the treachery of his own heart ; that indeed all kings were the devil's children ; that Satan had now the guidance of the court ; that the Queen of England was an atheist ; that the judges were miscreants and bribers, the nobility godless and degenerate, the privy council cormorants, and men of no religion :* and his prayer for the Queen was thus prefaced: “ *We must pray for her for fashion's sake, but we have no cause ; she will never do us good.*” He was summoned before the Council, to answer for such seditious and unseemly language, and on such an occasion. Mr. Andrew Melvil accompanied Mr. Black to Edinburgh, and the brethren, instead of abandoning him to the punishment which should be awarded, and which he richly deserved by his foul expressions, made common cause with the culprit. The old controversy concerning the privilege of the pulpit, and the rights of the clergy to swinge vice, and lampoon the vicious, of whatever rank or degree, was renewed. The clergy observed, that the King's eagerness to punish the freedom of a Protestant minister's speech, while he was so ready to pardon the crimes of Popish conspirators, called on them to stand upon their

A. C. 15

Black's sc  
rilious speedefended b  
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A. C. 1596.  


guard, and to prevent any encroachment on the precious right of *tongue-beating*, which the Church had been in full possession of ever since the Reformation. For these reasons, the standing council of the church enjoined Black to decline the jurisdiction of the privy council. Black gloried in an opportunity of displaying his zeal for the privileges of the church, and in contemning the King and his council. He therefore presented a paper of declinature, and refused to answer the questions put to him. Not content with this stubborn contumacy, the standing council of the church transmitted the declinature to all the presbyteries throughout the kingdom, and, by their supremacy, enjoined every minister to subscribe it, in testimony of his approbation.\*

James was sensible, that if he suffered such daring usurpations of his prerogative, such insults and censures of his dignity, and such impertinent calumnies against his ministers, to pass with impunity, he could retain only the shadow of royalty. He knew, from the examples of Gibson and Ross, what satisfaction he might expect, were he to remit the case of Black to the judicatories of the church; he therefore proceeded in the inquiry into the conduct of that railing and obstinate preacher before his own council, and at the same time issued a proclamation to the members of the standing council to leave Edinburgh, and to return to their respective flocks without delay. The privy council, after a strict inquiry and examination of witnesses, pro-

\* Spottiswood, p. 421. Robertson, vol. iii. p. 124.

nounced Black guilty of the crimes of which he had been accused, but referred his punishment to the King's pleasure. The standing council, in defiance of the royal proclamation, declared that they deemed the authority of the church by which they were appointed, more sacred than, and paramount to, the King's command. The King tried, by several conferences with some ministers who were thought the most moderate, to bring about an accommodation, but in vain : the pulpits still resounded with complaints of the King's lenity towards Papists, and of his excessive rigour towards the established church. Exasperated by such unmerited reproaches, James sentenced Black to relegation beyond the Spey during the royal pleasure, and once more commanded the standing council to depart from Edinburgh, and required all the ministers of the kingdom to subscribe a bond, obliging themselves to submit, like other subjects, to the jurisdiction of the civil courts, in matters of a civil nature. These spirited and decisive measures of the King excited among the clergy an ebullition of bile and rancour which was soon followed by violent and daring deeds.

Talebearers and busy-folks, from selfish motives, in the meantime blew the coal between the parties. The King gave orders that four and twenty of the burgesses, who were reckoned the greatest cronies of the ministers, should leave the town within six hours. On the other hand, a letter was circulated among the ministers, warning them to look to their safety, because Huntly had been with the King ; and it was no doubt owing to his ad-

A. C. 15

The King  
orders con-  
temned.

Seditious  
proceeding


**A. C. 1596.**  


vice that the order had been given against the burghesses. This letter was put into the hands of Mr. Walter Balcanquhall, just as he was going to ascend the pulpit. The preacher profited by the notice, and descanted upon the troubles of the church, owing to the insidious enmity of courtiers, namely, the president of the privy council, the comptroller and advocate; and after having painted the dangers with that kind of bespattering eloquence which at that time distinguished the Scottish pulpit, he made his peroration, by turning to the barons, and conjuring them, by the zeal of their fathers, to exert a similar courage and constancy in the defence of their religion. Having finished his sermon, he requested that his auditors of rank would meet him in the "Little Church," and assist the ministry by their counsel.\* The place of rendezvous was soon crowded. Mr. Robert Bruce remonstrated upon the return of the popish lords, the finding fault with Mr. Black's sermon, and banishing the most zealous sticklers of religion. The multitude vowed to stand by their clergy. A petition, asking redress of the grievances pointed out, was drawn up, and appointed to be presented to the King by the lords Lindsay and Forbes, the lairds of Balgenny and Blaquhan, and by the ministers Robert Bruce and William Watson.

The King happened to be in the great hall of the Tolbooth, while the Court of Session was sitting below. The uncourtly manner in which the petition was presented, as well as the unsavoury

\* Spottiswood, p. 427. Robertson, vol. iii. p. 128.

matter it contained, displeased his Majesty. His reply was ungracious, and the petitioners insisted with rudeness. A motley multitude rushed into the hall. The King went down abruptly to the room where the judges were sitting, and ordered the doors to be shut behind him. The deputies returned to the mob, to whom, in their absence, Mr. Michael Cranston, minister of Cramond, had been reading the history of Haman, to sharpen their zeal. When the deputies reported that the King refused to listen to them, and that there was no hope of a favourable answer as long as certain councillors remained with him; that some other course must be taken. "The course to be taken," said Lord Lindsay, "is to continue here united, and assemble our friends, that is, all the supporters of religion, *for it shall be either their's or our's.*" Instantly clamour, threatenings, and execrations, rent the skies. Some cried, "*To arms!*" others, "*Bring out Haman!*" From other inspired throats resounded, "*The sword of the Lord and Gideon!*" Then rushing to the door of the hall where the King was, they would doubtless have broken it in pieces, and who could have answered for the consequences, had not deacon John Watt, with his artificers, beat back the mob with a heroism for which Mr. Watt deserved to have been knighted. Sir Alexander Hume, the Provost, though sick and in bed, arose, and, with the calmness of a philosopher, and the wisdom of a sage, pacified the enraged multitude. The King promised to receive their petitions when presented in a decent and regular manner. The ministers became somewhat sensible of

**A. C. 1596.**  their rashness ; the mob dispersed ; and the King, with the lords, returned quietly to his palace.

The leaders of the malcontents immediately assembled to prepare their petition. Their demands were nowise abated. The punishment of the Catholic lords, the removal of councillors suspected of being favourable to them, the repeal of the acts of the privy council tending to curb the authority of the church, were insisted on ; together with an act approving of the acts of the *Standing Council*. It was late before the articles of the petition were formally drawn up ; and the King's indignation being still inflamed, the deputies chosen to present the daring *postulate* deemed it prudent to postpone their commission for that night.\*

James retires  
to Linlith-  
gow.

But very early next morning, the King, with all his attendants, removed to Linlithgow, leaving a proclamation to be made at the market-cross of Edinburgh, condemning the late treasonable uproar, and commanding the Lords of Session, and the judges of all civil courts, to withdraw from Edinburgh, and to be readiness to convene in such place as his Majesty should appoint, and where it might be consistent with their safety and dignity to remain and discharge their duties. The noblemen and barons were also required to return to their own homes, and not to re-assemble without the King's license, under pain of incurring his Majesty's displeasure.

This spirited conduct of the King lowered the crest and cooled the zeal of the mighty barons.

\* Spottiswood, p. 429.

The citizens perceived their error and their loss, by the absence of the King, and the removal of the courts of justice. The ministers alone maintained their bravery, and resolved to combat royalty. They advised the barons to despise the proclamation, and, instead of dispersing, to invite their friends, and all persons well affected towards religion, to join them in protecting the good cause. To enlist heaven on their side, they proclaimed a fast; and to animate the people, they commanded the voice of the pulpit to arise. The lofty eloquence resounded through the vaulted roofs that levelling zeal had hitherto spared. Mr. John Welch, eminently replenished with the spirit, thought himself authorised to declare, from the warning sent to the “angel of the church of Ephesus, that the “King was possessed by a devil; and one devil “being put out, seven worse had entered in his “place; and that the subjects might lawfully rise “and take the sword out of his hand.”\* A false rumour was spread, that the Earl of Errol, with five hundred horse, had come as far as the Queensferry, but had been frightened by the news of the late tumult. That rumour afforded ample matter for the Sunday’s sermons, and was ably interpreted, to prove that the late attack upon the King had been directed by a secret Providence, to disappoint the wicked contrivances of the enemies of religion. Such nonsense was greedily swallowed by the credulous and misled populace, and contributed much to procure subscriptions to an association for the defence of the new worship.

A. C. 150

The Clergy  
persist in  
their contra-  
macy.

\* Spottis. p. 430. This was the deposing doctrine with a vengeance!



A. C. 1596.

They write  
to Lord Ha-  
milton ;

Though the ministers had spurned at having any visible head of their church, they perceived the utility of having a head of their rebellion ; they therefore wrote to Lord Hamilton, that the people, moved by the word of God, and motion of his Spirit, as also provoked by the injuries offered to the church, had taken up arms ; that many godly barons and gentlemen, following the example of their fathers, were determined to protect the Presbyterian worship ; that his birth, his valour, and his zeal, had prompted them to offer him the honour of being their leader, which they conjured him to accept, and not to disappoint their hopes and their wishes, but to hasten to Edinburgh, and support the vacillating steps of the infant church. Lord Hamilton graciously received the bearer of this letter, which, after having transcribed, he returned to the messenger and carried the copy to the King, who, exasperated by this fresh and heightened insult, sent an order to the magistrates of Edinburgh, to seize and imprison their ministers, as manifest seditious incendiaries. The magistrates, desirous of regaining the King's favour, were about to obey the command, but the ministers, smelling the danger, fled precipitately to the kingdom of their kind patroness, Elizabeth.\*

and flee to  
England.

Reflections  
on the con-  
duct and  
commission  
of the Clergy.

These transactions I have fairly related upon the testimony of Protestant historians. Will my readers be persuaded, that those refractory subjects, and disturbers of the national peace, were men sent by the Almighty to enlighten the minds of the people,

\* Spottiswood. p. 431.

and to make religion and piety reflourish throughout the kingdom? Let their conduct be compared with the pious and peaceable demeanour of those truly apostolic missionaries who first planted the Christian religion in Scotland, or with the mild and engaging procedure of the learned and zealous clergy employed in correcting abuses and restoring learning, order, and pure morality, during the reign of Malcolm III. and his pious consort Margaret. The Presbyterian clergy had (at this period of Scottish history) no shadow of excuse for neglecting the Apostle's injunction, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers." They had not a Catholic Prince on the throne to contend with. James was no tyrant; he had, moreover, sufficiently proved his good-will to the Protestant religion; he had even permitted the whole platform of Genevan church polity to be established by law. What pretext could they allege for stirring up the people against their sovereign, and justifying and protecting those disgraceful and seditious *tirades* which their turbulent brethren made from the pulpit? How could the persons who, a few years ago, so strenuously petitioned and contended for toleration for the profession of their own belief and undisturbed worship, rise up with indignation against their king, for a mere suspicion of his not persecuting with sufficient severity a few noblemen who still retained a persuasion of the truth of, and a liking to, the religion of their ancestors? For, after all, we shall soon see that James's persecution was harsh in the extreme to those noblemen. It may be said, that God can draw good from evil. I acknowledge

. C. 1596.



he can, as he drew light from darkness. I respect the learning, morality, and urbanity of the greater portion of the successors of those turbulent and illiberal ministers ; and it is with sorrow, mingled with hope, that I am forced to throw upon them that confusion and blush which never fails to overspread those unfortunate persons who are the offspring of their parents' guilt, when recalled to the memory of their origin.

The King asserts his authority.

A Convention of the Estates, held at Holyroodhouse, pronounced the defeated mutiny to have been high treason ; commanded all the ministers to subscribe a declaration of their submission to the King's jurisdiction in all matters, civil and criminal ; empowered the magistrates to imprison any minister who in his sermons should dare to inveigh against the King's conduct ; prohibited ecclesiastical meetings without the King's licence ; and as the citizens of Edinburgh had been the chief abettors of the contumacious clergy, special care was taken to humble them. That city was already abandoned by the civil courts, deserted by its ministers, mulcted of the privileges of a corporation ; and some of the nobles even suggested that the city should be razed, and a pillar erected on its ruins, as an eternal monument of the insolence of its inhabitants, and of the King's just vengeance. At length, upon the humble submission of the magistrates and town-council, at the solicitation of some of the nobles, and in compliance with the request of the English Queen, James so absolved the citizens, as to inflict on them severe punishments. He stripped them of the privilege of electing their magistrates

and ministers, and imposed a heavy pecuniary mulct by way of peace-offering.\*

James employed considerable art, as well as authority, to bring the ministers more under his control. Notwithstanding the seeming parity of ecclesiastical power introduced by the presbyterian discipline, the ministers of Edinburgh and its vicinity had assumed a sort of leading importance, which created a jealousy among their brethren. James employed agents to blow up that jealousy, and to signify to the northern clergy that he meant to reserve to himself the nomination of ministers to the principal towns throughout the kingdom, and that therefore those who, in the clerical assemblies, were compliant and favourable to his reasonable demands, might profit by his patronage. In order to exercise the talents of the ministers in theological casuistry, and probably with a view to divide their sentiments, and to withdraw them from meddling so much with political matters, James caused to be drawn up, with great dexterity, a number of articles, which, in form of questions, were to be propounded to a national assembly, to be held at Perth on the last day of February. These questions were shrewd and captious, and greatly puzzled, perplexed, and embarrassed the most rigid and high-flown ministers. By these means, James procured a powerful party for himself in the following Assemblies. The licence which had been assumed, of discussing political matters in the pulpit, was restrained. Invectives against particular persons

A. C. 155

Regulation  
for keeping  
the minist  
in order.

\* Spottiswood, p. 432, 433, 444. Robertson, vol. iii. p. 131.

A. C. 1597.



were censured ; sentences of summary excommunication were condemned ; the right of nominating ministers to the chief towns was invested in the Crown ; and no General Assembly could be convoked without the King's permission.\*

At the intercession of these assemblies, and that of other friends, the ministers of Edinburgh were permitted to return, but were very considerably shorn of their former power and influence. The city was divided into several distinct parishes, and the number of ministers doubled. The additional ministers who were inducted, were such as the King could depend on, for their fidelity and moderation. Thus James obtained, and preserved during the remainder of his reign, a sort of spiritual as well as temporal supremacy.†

The Catholic  
Lords con-  
form to the  
new creed.

About this time, a commission was issued from the General Assembly, at the King's desire, to the ministers of Aberdeen, Murray, Mearns, and Angus, for reconciling the Catholic lords to the newly established faith and worship ; which reconciliation, though proposed under colour of a favour, was in reality the grossest insult on the part of his Majesty.‡ The tenor and conditions thereof were the most absurd, ridiculous, and foolish on the part of the ministers ; and the compliance, on the part of

\* Spottiswood, 434-436.

† Robertson, vol. iii. p. 134.

‡ Spottiswood, p. 438. The following is a copy of James's letter to the Earl of Huntly, on the above occasion :—

“ MY LORD,—I am sure ye consider and doe remember how often I  
“ have incurred skaith and hazard for your cause ; therefore, to be short, re-  
“ solve you either to satisfie the Church betwixt the day that is appointed,  
“ without any more delay ; or else, if your conscience be so kittle, as it can-  
“ not permit you, make for another land betwixt and that day, where ye may  
“ use freely your own conscience. Your wife and bairns shall, in that case,

the lords themselves, was the most abject, the most hypocritical, and the most impious act of their whole lives. The King knew, and the ministers knew, that the abjuration which the lords were commanded to make could not be sincere. The lords must have believed, that their swearing and signing the new confession of faith was a most criminal apostacy; and, being contrary to their conscience, was an impious perjury. Their subsequent conduct, in again solemnly abjuring that same confession of faith as a condemned heresy, proved the insincerity of their former compliance, and shewed that temporal interest alone was the motive of their submission. How unworthy of men, who had so often risked their lives and fortunes in defence of the faith of their ancestors, now so basely to crouch to the freak or pusillanimity of a monarch, or to the fanaticism of a faction, which had but lately gained a tottering ascendancy! What merit might they not have gained before God (if their conscience was right) by preferring the dictates of conscience to the preservation of their temporal estates! What glory, even in the minds of unprejudiced men, by courageously and candidly adhering to what they deemed truth; and rising above popular prejudice, and the fear of wordly in-

A. C. 159

“ enjoy your living; but for yourself, look never to be a Scottishman again.  
 “ Deceive not yourself to think that, by lingering of time, your wife and  
 “ your allies shall ever get you better conditions. And think not that I will  
 “ suffer any, professing a contrary religion, to dwell in this land. If you  
 “ obey me in this, you may again be settled in a good estate, and made able  
 “ to doe me service, which from my heart I would wish. The rest I remit  
 “ to the bearer, whose directions ye shall follow if you wish your own well.  
 “ Farewell.”

(Signed) “ JAMES R.”

“ *From Dunfermlin.*”

A. C. 1597.

convenience ! Nay, I think it highly probable, that by standing firm to their principles, those noblemen, the representatives of ancient and renowned families, would have, ere long, regained peaceable possession of their estates ; and their descendants, to this day, heirs of their faith as well as of their honours and fortunes, would have commanded throughout Christendom yet more respect, and, in this kingdom, have possessed greater affluence and influence than they actually enjoy.

Towards the close of this year, a Parliament was held at Edinburgh, for the dear-bought restoration of the forfeited lords to their lands and honours. In former times, the dignified clergy, having seats and voices in Parliament, formed a third estate ; and as they generally supported the King, an equipoise, or preponderance, was formed for the crown, in case of any collusive opposition of the aristocracy. That balance in favour of the throne was destroyed by the act of annexation and the legal establishment of the Presbyterian church polity. The nominal bishops were reduced to poverty and contempt ; the abbey and priories were possessed by laymen, many of whom were become temporal peers. James perceived the defect, but it was easier seen than remedied. Would not the admission of ministers into the supreme council of the nation destroy the applauded parity ? Could the King depend on their support, if admitted ? To obviate the former difficulty, the motion must arise from the clergy themselves ; the latter risk must be attended to by the proper choice of the persons. James, by himself or his agents, prevailed

New Clergy  
introduced to  
Parliament.

upon the commissioners appointed by the last General Assembly, to complain to the Parliament that the church was the only body in the kingdom destitute of representatives in that supreme court. To redress this alleged grievance, an act was passed, by which those ministers on whom the King should confer the vacant bishoprics and abbeys were entitled to a vote in Parliament ; but lest an apprehension might arise that the horns of the detested mitre might grow again out of this act, it was remitted to the General Assembly to determine what spiritual jurisdiction those parliamentary ministers should possess or exercise. The struggle was arduous in the Assembly, between the acceptance of the honour, supported by the aspirants, and the security of the noble platform of clerical parity combated for by the more zealous sons of Geneva. At last, honour and emolument obtained the majority ; and new ecclesiastics, nearly equal in number, though not in political weight, to the ancient clerical members, were allowed to be chosen and admitted into Parliament. The manner of their election, together with the powers with which they were to be invested ; their continuance in office, and responsibility to their brethren, were to be matter of future consideration.\* Great care was afterwards taken to modify the livings and powers, spiritual and temporal, of these new *honourables*, and to subject them to the trial and censure of their respective presbyteries, &c.

James now turned all his attention to the secu-

\* Spottiswood, p. 449.



A. C. 1508.



James sends  
agents to  
Germany ;

and Bruce to  
England.

ring of his succession to the English throne. He sent agents to several of the German princes, with whom he had contracted affinity by his marriage. in order to explain his right, and procure their aid, or at least their good will, for the attainment of that high prospect. He despatched Edward Bruce, nominal Abbot of Kinloss, to the English court. in order to solicit the Queen to recognise his title. and to endeavour to gain the favour of the nobility to his claim. Though defeated in the first purpose of his embassy, Bruce had some success in the second. As several tracts had been published and scattered through England, containing objections to his title, James employed fit persons to answer and confute these cavils. A publication also proceeded from his own pen, entitled *Basilicon Doron*, or Royal Gift, treating of the arts of government. and addressed to Prince Henry, his son. Whatever intrinsic merit that treatise might possess, it did not lack affectation of erudition, and created in the minds of many of the English a high opinion of the author's abilities, and lofty expectations of national glory and prosperity under the reign of a prince so eminent in wisdom and political knowledge. Yet as this performance was interspersed with high eulogiums on those who had adhered to the Queen his mother, it made no favourable impression on the mind of Elizabeth.\* But James was especially afraid of the Infanta of Spain as his competitor. I have already mentioned his alarm at the publication entitled "A Conference respecting the Succession:" and the assertion

\* Spottiswood, p. 456

made in that treatise, *that heresy was a sufficient ground of exclusion*, was evidently levelled against him : he therefore despatched Ogilvy, a Catholic baron, as his envoy to the Catholic powers. Ogilvy possessed the talents of suppleness and dexterity for conducting a negotiation at the different courts. At Venice, Florence, and Rome, he barely asserted that his Sovereign was disposed, as the King of France had been, to study the Catholic faith ; and he represented how dangerous it would be to the powers of Europe, to permit Philip to annex England to the vast dominions which he already possessed. In Spain, he made bolder proposals. “ James,” he said, “ was stimulated by an ardent “ desire of avenging the injuries offered to the “ Spanish monarch by the Queen of England. He “ was ready to declare war against her ; he would “ embrace the Catholic faith, and re-establish it “ within his own dominions ; he would supply Phi- “ lip with a levy of ten thousand soldiers for his “ service ; and as a pledge of his sincerity, he would “ send his son to be educated at the Spanish court, “ on condition that Philip would not dispute his “ claim to the English crown, should grant him a “ subsidy of five hundred thousand ducats to com- “ mence the war, and aid him with an army of “ twelve thousand troops in the Spanish pay.”

But Persons, and his party in Spain, had learned that Ogilvy, on his arrival in Flanders, had consulted with their opponents, Paget and his friends, and therefore obstructed his negotiation at the Spanish court. They called in question the authenticity of his credentials ; they represented his reli-

A. C. 15

Sends Ogilvy to Italy and Spain.

A. C. 1599.

gion as dubious, and his veracity as liable to suspicion ; that besides, his master's conduct to the Catholic lords and Catholic sovereigns had been such as to afford little reliance on his promises. Philip dismissed the envoy with expressions of kindness and friendship to his sovereign, and a handsome present to himself.

James especially dreaded the sentence of the Pontiff in opposition to his claim. He was aware that the Spanish party, to promote the plan of the Infanta's succession, had solicited the Pope to issue a declaration against him on the plea of heresy. He therefore despatched Sir Edward Drummond to the court of Rome, with a letter of thanks to the Pontiff, for not having complied with the suggestions of his enemies, expressing his gratitude and high respect for his Holiness, and promising to treat the Roman Catholics with indulgence. The letter also suggested, that, to facilitate the intercourse between the courts of Rome and Scotland, it might be useful to have a Scottish resident in the Papal court, and solicited for this purpose that the Bishop of Vaison, a native of Scotland, might be promoted to the dignity of a cardinal. Drummond was also entrusted with verbal instructions, among which it appears that he was to solicit an annual sum for the payment of a guard about the King's person ; that, in return, he should offer to entrust the keeping of the Castle of Edinburgh to the Catholics, and to dispose of the young Prince of Scotland according to the direction of the Pontiff.\*

Despatches  
Drummond  
to Rome.

\* Rushworth, vol. i. p. 166. Birch, vol. i. p. 263, 407, 429. Wood, vol. i. p. 52, 100.

These negotiations, by various information, reached the ears of Elizabeth, and highly offended her. She immediately despatched Bowes into Scotland, to inquire more fully into the truth of the report, and to reproach James for an action so unbecoming a Protestant prince. Some years later, she also ordered Sir Thomas Brunkard to reproach the King with his duplicity. James on both occasions affected astonishment, and protested his ignorance of the whole proceedings; that the accusations were calumnies, and the letter a forgery of his enemies. Ogilvy and Drummond were examined, and committed, the former to Edinburgh Castle, the latter to the house of his mother. The Scottish resident at the English court was ordered to complain of the Queen's too easy belief, and to require from her the proofs of the charge, that the prisoners might be tried, and, if guilty, receive due punishment. But we hear of no trial. James, for his own honour, took care to suspend the affair until Elizabeth stepped off the stage. Yet the letter did not lie dormant. Several years after, Cardinal Bellarmine, in a reply to a controversial treatise, of which the King was the author, accused him of inconstancy, in having abandoned the favourable sentiments which he had once entertained of the Catholic religion, and, as a proof of this, published his letter to Clement VIII. His Majesty was placed in an awkward situation. Lord Balmerinoch, the secretary, was examined. The timid man, frightened by the threats of the English council, in order to screen his master at the expense of his own fame, pretended that he had shuffled in this

A. C. 159

Elizabeth  
offended.1601,  
February

James den

1608.

His letter  
the Pope  
covered.Balmerinoch  
takes the  
guilt upon  
himself.

A. C. 1599.

letter among other papers, and had surreptitiously obtained the King's subscription. Balmerinoch was tried: his peers found him guilty; but the Queen interceded, and his pardon was easily granted. He lost his office, but retained the royal favour, and his ample fortune, which was chiefly accumulated from the wreck of the church.\*

James at  
great pains  
to gain the  
Catholics.

It is evident that James was at great pains to gain the good-will of the Catholic princes, in order to facilitate his accession to the English throne. Lord Home, a Catholic at heart, although he had meanly signed the new creed, was sent with a secret commission to Clement VIII. The Pontiff expressed such favourable sentiments, both of the King, and of his right to the crown of England, that James afterwards publicly acknowledged the obligation.† The Archbishop of Glasgow, to whom James had restored the temporalities of his diocese, and appointed him his ambassador, as he had been of his mother, at the court of France, promoted, to the utmost of his power, among those of his religion, the interest of the Scottish King.‡

1600.

Regulations  
for Clerical  
Parliament-  
ers.

The manner of electing the new clerical members of Parliament, their power and tenure, were decided in an Assembly held at Montrose. The Assembly were to recommend six persons to every vacant benefice, out of whom the King was to choose one, who was to sit in Parliament, but was neither to propose nor consent to any thing affecting the interest of the church, without special instructions; he was to discharge pastoral duties

\* Spottiswood, p. 507, 511. Calderwood, vol. v. p. 322 : vol. vi. p. 147.

† Calderwood, vol. vi. p. 147.

‡ Winwood, vol. ii. p. 57.

in a particular congregation, without assuming any superior jurisdiction ; and, by a censure of deprivation, he was to forfeit also his parliamentary dignity.

A. C.

The last year of this century was distinguished by an incident, which never has been, and probably never will be satisfactorily explained. The known facts are simply as follows : On the fifth of August, the King (who during the hunting season resided at his palace of Falkland), going out to his sport in the morning, was accosted in an unusually serious manner by Mr. Alexander Ruthven, brother to the Earl of Gowrie, who informed him, that, on the preceding evening, he had noticed a stranger, of a suspicious aspect, walking solitarily in a bye-path, near his brother's house at Perth ; that it occurred to him that the person might probably be a jesuit, upon some mischievous errand ; that, on searching him, he had found under his cloak a vessel containing a considerable quantity of foreign gold ; that he had immediately seized the fellow, with his treasure, and without letting any body know of the matter, he had confined and bound him in a private and sure apartment ; that he had thought it his duty to impart the singular event first of all to his Majesty, as the fittest person to elicit from this dubious character a disclosure of his business and project. James proposed committing the examination to the magistrates of Perth ; but Ruthven insisted on the King's riding directly to Perth, and examining the matter in person. The King then desired Ruthven to return to Perth, and inform his brother that he would be with him before

The King  
danger, and  
the deaths  
Gowrie and  
his brother

A. C. 1600.

dinner. Presently a buck was started, and James was eager on his sport ; but Ruthven, instead of riding back to Perth, kept close by the King, frequently urging his proposal. The chase terminated with the death of the game ; and James, without changing horse, rode onwards to Perth, attended by the Duke of Lennox, the Earl of Mar, and other eighteen gentlemen, in his train. When near the town, Gowrie, attended by some of the citizens, met the King. The Earl appeared downcast, but attributed his embarrassment to his not knowing of the King's visit, and not having a dinner prepared for his Majesty and suite. The King begged him not to be discomposed, that he and his attendants would be contented with whatever could be easily procured. In the mean time, the King talked cheerfully upon the amusement of the chase ; and when he had taken the repast prepared for him, his attendants were conducted to dinner in another room. Mr. Alexander Ruthven then whispered the King, that now was the time to visit the stranger. James ordered him to bring Sir Thomas Erskine along with him ; but as soon as the King had entered the door of the staircase, Ruthven whispered to Erskine, that the King wished him to stay below, and instantly shut the door : He then conducted the King through several apartments, locking the doors as he passed, and finally led him into a small study, in which there stood a man clad in complete armour. James, expecting to see a person bound, started at this sight, and inquired if this were the person he had been brought to examine ? Ruthven replied, "*There is another*

*“ business in hand ;”* and hastily snatching a dagger from the girdle of the man in armour, pointed it to the King’s breast, saying, “ Remember how  
“ unjustly you used my father : You are now my  
“ prisoner ; submit to my disposal without resist-  
“ ance or outcry, or else this dagger shall avenge  
“ his blood.” The King expostulated, and observed, that he had not been the cause of his father’s death, which had happened during his minority, by form of justice ; adding, “ Have you decoyed me  
“ hither to murder me, or do you hope to execute  
“ that wicked deed with impunity ?” The man in armour stood trembling all the while, without attempting to aid the King, or to join his aggressor. Ruthven said he would go and consult his brother ; and binding the King by oath to make no noise during his absence, he left him to the care of the man in armour. The King meantime prevailed on his trembling keeper to open a window opposite to the street. Ruthven quickly returned to the King, and swearing that now there was no remedy, he must die, attempted to bind his hands. James courageously grappled with his assassin, dragging him towards the window, whilst the man in armour slunk away. James wildly shouted from the window, “ Treason ! help ! I am murdered !” His attendants heard the well-known voice, and looking towards the window, saw a hand violently grasping the King’s neck. Lennox and Mar, with many others, ran up the principal staircase ; and whilst they battered the bolted doors, Sir John Ramsay luckily entered by a back stair, which led him without hindrance to the apart-

A. C.





A. C. 1600.

ment, where he found Ruthven still struggling with the King. Ramsay, striking the daring aggressor twice with his dagger, drove him towards the back stair, where Sir Thomas Erskine and Sir Hugh Herries met and killed him, he exclaiming with his dying breath, "*Alas! I am not to blame for this deed.*"

Ramsay, Erskine, and Herries, with a footman called Wilson, entered the room where the King was, and were immediately followed by Gowrie, with a drawn sword in each hand, accompanied by some well-armed servants, and loudly threatening to revenge his brother's death. The King's defenders thrust him into the adjoining closet, and shutting the door upon him, encountered the Earl and his party. One of the royal defenders exclaimed, "*You have killed the King our master, and will you also take our lives?*" On hearing these words, Gowrie paused with astonishment, and pointed his sword to the floor; but Ramsay leapt forward, and drove his rapier through the heart of the Earl, who dropt down dead, without uttering a word. The locked doors were then opened, and the King's attendants rushed in, and joined him in solemn thanks to God for his happy deliverance. The inhabitants of the town ran to arms, surrounded the house, vociferating reproaches against the King, and demanding their beloved provost. In case of refusal, or of the Earl's death, they threatened to blow up the house, with all its inmates.\* The magistrates were admitted, matters explained,

\* Spottiswood, p. 157-159. Robertson's History of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 145, &c.

and the multitude being with difficulty appeased, the King returned to Falkland: A. C.

The ministers seem excusable, amidst dubious circumstances, for not giving implicit credit to a premeditated conspiracy against the King's life. On the 15th of November, a Parliament was held at Edinburgh, in which sentence of treason and forfeiture was pronounced against Gowrie and his brother, the punishment of traitors was inflicted on their dead bodies, and the name of Ruthven was ordered to be abolished.

Various attempts to explain the strange adventure.

Henderson, Gowrie's steward, pretended to be the man in armour. He knew nothing of the intentions of Ruthven. He differs from himself, and from the relation of the King, in several circumstances. The pretended discoveries of Sprot, a notary, are undeserving of credit. Dr. Robertson's attempt to trace the lamentable event to a scheme of Elizabeth for carrying the King prisoner to England, is by no means satisfactory. Pinkerton's theory, if it does not produce entire conviction, carries along with it an air of great probability. After rejecting the belief of a conspiracy of Gowrie and his brother to murder the King, as also that of the King and his courtiers against Gowrie, he refutes Dr. Robertson's supposition, and imputes the mysterious affair to the ambition, gallantry, or coquetry, and flirtation of Anne, James's Queen. He supposes that Alexander Ruthven, a favourite of the Queen, Anne of Denmark, was the sole author of this attempt, in itself foolish, and weakly conducted, but designed to accomplish some object both had in view: most probably an abdication of the

C. 1601. government by James, in favour of Prince Henry. and the Queen's appointment to the regency.\*

At this time two powerful factions in the English court contended for pre-eminence in directing the affairs of the nation. The leader of the one was Robert D'Evreux, Earl of Essex; the chief of the other was Sir Robert Cecil, son of Lord Burleigh, the treasurer. The former was an accomplished and popular nobleman, of a genius fitted for the camp or the cabinet; brave, generous, affable, and candid; impetuous in his passions, yet a steady friend. The latter inherited the qualities of his father, and being trained up under his direction, imbibed the arts and craftiness of a courtier.

Essex had been introduced to the Queen by the Earl of Leicester, who had married his mother, the Countess of Essex. The address and spirit of this young nobleman soon captivated Elizabeth, and, after the death of Leicester, he became the Queen's prime favourite, and was raised to lucrative offices and distinguished honours. He was appointed commander of the land forces in two expeditions against Spain. In the first, he was successful, by a splendid victory at Cadiz. In the second, he was defeated by a storm, and had another tempest to sustain, from the frowns and reproaches of the Queen. He retired in discontent; and Elizabeth, to pacify him, presented him with the staff of the Earl Marshal.

Essex had early courted the friendship of the Scottish King, for whose right of succession he was a zealous advocate, and held a close correspondence

\* Pinkerton's Historical Dissertation on Gowrie's Conspiracy; apud Laing, vol. i. at the end. Winwood, vol. i. p. 274.

both with him and his principal ministers. Cecil, in devotion to his mistress, kept aloof from any declared sentiment; but was supposed to lean to the claim of Arabella Stuart, or even to that of the Infanta of Spain, in preference to the succession of the King of Scotland.

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After Perrot, Lord Deputy of Ireland, had been calumniously arraigned in Westminster Hall, and unjustly condemned, Essex, by his objections to the appointment of all the persons proposed to fill that office, betrayed a wish to obtain it for himself, though he scorned to solicit it as a favour. His enemies, desirous of his removal from court, gladly seconded his ambition; and Elizabeth, though reluctantly, was induced to make him Lieutenant of Ireland, and commander of her forces in that kingdom; and, moreover, invested him with privileges far surpassing those of all his predecessors.

His success in that trust fell far short of his own promises, and of the Queen's expectations. She wrote him a letter, full of harsh and reproachful expressions. These his high spirit could ill bear. In the first transports of his resentment, he proposed to embark a body of two thousand cavalry, to hasten to London, and drive his political adversaries from the court; but by the advice of his friend the Earl of Southampton, he abandoned that rash design, yet hoped, by his unexpected appearance at court, to disconcert the intrigues of his opponents. On the morning of the 28th of September, just after the Queen had risen from bed, and before she was completely dressed, to her astonishment, her chamber-door opened, and she beheld

A. C. 1601.

Essex himself on his knees at her feet, supplicating pardon for his intrusion, and for coming from Ireland to lay before her the true state of that kingdom. Elizabeth, suspended between affection and displeasure, gave him her hand to kiss, and he retired with cheerfulness and hope; yet he was tried and censured for his conduct in Ireland, and for returning from that country without the Queen's permission. After various and vain expedients to recover the Queen's favour, he resumed the mad project from which he had been dissuaded in Ireland, namely, to seize the royal person, and forcibly drive his enemies from the council. He endeavoured, however, to give his scheme the semblance of public utility, by mingling the King of Scotland's interest with his own. He despatched a trusty messenger to James, with professions of attachment; and informed him that Cecil and his party were leagued to place the Infanta of Spain on the English throne at the Queen's demise; and exhorted him to insist on the immediate recognition of his right, promising, on his part, that, on the arrival of James's ambassadors, he would risk his life and fortune in defence of the house of Stuart.\*

But Essex hastened his ill-judged attempt, failed, surrendered himself prisoner, was conducted to the Tower, arraigned for having imagined the deposition and death of the Queen, and found guilty by his peers. The Lord-Steward pronounced judgment, and the edge of the axe was turned to him.

\* Winwood, vol. i. p. 271. Buch. vol. ii. p. 462; apud Lingard, vol. viii. p. 444.

Urges James  
to join him.

As soon as James heard of the failure of Essex's enterprise, he appointed the Earl of Mar, and Bruce, nominal Abbot of Kinloss, as his ambassadors to the court of England, with a command to solicit, in the warmest manner, for the pardon and life of the Earl of Essex. They were also authorised to promise, that James would still put himself at the head of Essex's party, if there remained any reasonable prospect of success.\*

Elizabeth hesitated concerning the fate of her former favourite. Some persons ventured to say, that she dared not let the sentence be put in execution, for fear of the disclosure of secrets unfavourable to her reputation. But his enemies were busy : the Queen signed the fatal warrant, revoked it, and again gave orders to hasten its execution. When the blow was struck, she repented of her rashness, and bewailed his death with sorrow.

The Scottish ambassadors arrived too late to plead for the unhappy earl, and, veiling their other instructions, congratulated the Queen on her escaping the danger. Elizabeth, though she well knew of James's correspondence with Essex, thought it prudent to receive the congratulations with marks of good will; and, to preserve appearances of friendship, increased the annual subsidy which she had been accustomed to pay to the Scottish King.

Cecil, whose conduct was ruled by personal interest, saw well, as the Queen had now one foot in the grave, that it was bad policy to contend with one who probably would soon become his master : he

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His execution.

Cecil privately espoused the cause of James.

\* Buchanan, vol. ii. p. 510.

A. C. 1601.

therefore promised to James, on condition of the most profound secrecy, to pave the way for his accession to the throne at the Queen's demise. But Cecil overshot his mark, by his too refined policy. From a wish to monopolise the royal favour, he cautioned James to beware of crediting the professions of Northumberland, Cobham, and Raleigh ; that they were persons of little ability and less sincerity, studious to discover secrets and to betray them. He even hinted something of the indiscretion and passions of the Scottish Queen ; but James checked his suspicious zeal, and spurned at his irreverent innuendoes against his consort. Cecil hastened to apologise, and begged excuse for what, he said, had proceeded from his solicitude for his Majesty's interest.

1603.

Elizabeth's  
illness and  
death.

The golden days of Elizabeth had passed by. She had dazzled the world by the splendour of her reign : she was destined to instruct the world by the wretchedness and misery of her final days. Her bodily infirmities might be the effect of decaying nature : her mental afflictions, besides her regret for leaving her temporal kingdom, were probably occasioned in a great measure by the stings of remorse ; thrice happy, if the consciousness of guilt was accompanied by sincere repentance. Those Princes, whose rebellious subjects she had aided, had no reason to wish for her lengthened life. Her Catholic subjects might lift up their heads at the prospect of her dissolution : to them she had been a tyrannical despot, and especially during the last fourteen years of her life. During that period, sixty-one clergymen, forty-seven laymen, and two

gentlewomen, suffered capital punishment for newly created spiritual felonies and treasons ; and butchery was generally inflicted while the victims were in perfect possession of their senses. It were impossible to number the harassing and interested punishments of endless fines and imprisonments, the penalties of recusancy. Those who had no money, had their ears bored with a hot iron, or were publicly whipped. These, and a thousand other specimens of mal-administration, added to the cruel, vindictive, and unjust persecution and barbarous murder of the illustrious Queen of Scotland, might, more than infernal furies, torture a conscience not entirely seared against remorse. What a contrast between the pious and heroic death of Mary, and the wretched and gloomy end of Elizabeth, rolling among her cushions on the floor, with her finger in her mouth ; her staring eyes fixed on the ground, and her mind rolling among the bitter reflections of accumulated guilt ! She stepped off the stage on the 24th of March 1603. I leave the delineation of her character to other historians, and her judgment to an unerring tribunal.

James was proclaimed, the same day, heir to the Queen, by proximity of blood, and by her own appointment on her deathbed. Sir Robert Carey was the first who brought James the welcome news. Sir Charles Percy and Thomas Somerset next arrived with a letter to the King, signed by all the peers and privy councillors then in London, informing him of his elevation to the throne, and of the universal applause of its public proclamation.



**A. C. 1603.** Thus James obtained a throne, of the prospect of which his mother had been unjustly bereaved, for which his son lost his head, and from which his grandson was banished. Such are the vanity and instability of all human grandeur. The junction, however, of the two kingdoms, which were united by nature, has been of infinite service to both, and has raised Great Britain to distinguished eminence and prosperity.

FINIS.





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